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Historical Tracts

1561–1800

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Volume CCCXLVII.

1721 (2)



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THE basis of the present collection of Historical Tracts was a group of State pamphlets in forty volumes, gathered by Sir John Bramston, M.P. (1611–1700), Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons in the early years of Charles II.'s reign. The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston was printed by the Camden Society in 1845. The collection as it now stands is rich in Civil War and Commonwealth Tracts. It represents vividly the conflict of opinion at the Restoration and at the Revolution of 1688. The military conflicts, political intrigues, and theological controversies which marked the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne are thrown into relief by many rare and forgotten brochures. The civil and religious struggles for liberty and toleration which took place in the Georgian Era are reflected as in a mirror by many curious manifestoes. The whole collection illustrates the growth of opinion in matters religious, political, literary, and social, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the dawn of the nineteenth century.

S. J. R.

East Grinstead, Sussex.

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VOLUME CCCXLVII

1721 (2)

1. Rome's Cabal. [On Intrigues to choose a New Pope.]

2. A Vindication of the Consecration of Archbishop Cranmer against the Objections of Papists and others, as also a Vindication of Archbishop Parker's Consecration in which the Nagg's Head Fable is Exploded. . . . By I. Sharpe.

Author also of an 'Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of Heresies, 1718–1719.'

3. A Plain Answer to Plain Reasons for Dissenting from the Communion of the Church of England. . . .

4. The Answer of the Earl of Nottingham to M^r^ Whiston's letter to him concerning the Eternity of the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit. Seventh edition.

5. Glotta, a Poem—to the Marquess of Carnarvon. By M^r^ Arbuckle.

James Arbuckle (1700–1734). Wrote also 'Letters of Hibernicus, 1729.'

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6. The Geneologie of all the Kings of Scotland. Their Lives &c.

7. A Brief Journal of what Passed in the City of Marseilles, while it was Afflicted with the Plague, in the Year 1720.

8. The Causes of the Discontents, in Relation to the Plague, and the Provisions against it, fairly stated and consider'd.

ROME's Cabal:

Being an Authentic

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Intrigues among the Cardinals

Who assemble in the Conclave to chuse

A New POPE.

AND

Of the mighty State and Ceremony with which POPES are Elected, Consecrated, Crown'd, Ador'd, and Interr'd.

To which is added,

A brief History of the Deceased POPE *Clement* XI, not only of his Election, Coronation, *&c.* but of his Birth, Pedigree, and Character; with his Orthodox Homily at St. *Peter's* Cathedral, upon the Blessed Trinity, and the Deceitfulness of Riches. Also a List of the present Cardinals.

Ye worship ye know not what. John 4. 22.

London, Printed for *T. Bickerton* at the *Crown* in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1721. Price 6 *d.*

A LIST of

The CARDINALS that compose the Sacred College.

Created in	Cardinals Names.	Natives.
	Promoted by *Innocent* XII.	
1695	*Tanara*	Of *Bologna*, Dean, and chief of the Bishops
	Clement X.	
1672	*Ursini Gravina*	A Neapolitan, Sub-Dean and Bishop.
1675	*Mareschoti*	A Roman, chief of the Order of Priests.
	Innocent XI.	
1681	*Pamphile*	A Roman, chief of the Order of Deacons.
	Alexander VIII.	
1689	*Ottoboni*	A Venetian, Deacon.
1690	*Del Giudice*	A Neapolitan, Bishop
	Imperiale	A Genoese, Deacon
	Barberini	A Roman, Priest.
	Altieri	A Roman, Deacon.
	Innocent XII.	
1695	*Buonocompagno*	Of *Bologna*, Priest.
	Sacripante	Of *Narni* in the Ecclesiast. Territory, Priest
1697	*Cornaro*	A Venetian, Priest.

	Paolucci	Of *Forli* in the Eccleſiaſt. Territories, Bp.
1700	*De Noailles*	A Frenchman, Prieſt.
		Clement XI.
1703	*Pignatelli*	A Neapolitan, Biſhop
1706	*Corſini*	A Florentine, Prieſt.
	Fleſchi	A Genoeſe, Prieſt.
	Acquaviva	A Neapolitan, Prieſt.
	Ruffo	A Neapolitan, Prieſt.
	Spada	Of *Lucca*, Prieſt.
	Gualtieri	Of *Orvieto*, in Eccleſ. Territories, Prieſt.
	De Saxe-Zeits	A German, Prieſt.
	Paracciani	A Roman, Prieſt.
	Fabroni	Of *Piſtoya* (*Tuſc.*) Prieſt
	Colonne	A Roman, Deacon.
	Priuli	A Venetian, Prieſt.
	Vallemani	Of *Fabriano* in Eccleſ. Territories, Prieſt.
1707	*Conti*	A Roman, Prieſt.
1709	*Gozzadini*	Of *Bologna*, Prieſt.
1711	*Albani*	Of *Peſaro* in Eccleſ. Territories, Deacon.
1712	*Davia*	Of *Bologna*, Prieſt.
	Cuſani	Of *Milan*, Prieſt.
	Piazza	Of *Torli* in Eccl. Terr.
	Zondodari	Of *Sienna*, Prieſt.
	De Rohan-Soubize	A Frenchman, Prieſt.
	Dachuna	A Portugueſe, Deacon
	Schrotembach	A German, Prieſt.
	Tolomei	Of *Piſtoya*, Prieſt.
	Pie de la Marandola	Of *Milan*, Prieſt.

	De Busti	Of *Viterba* in Eccles. Territories, Priest
	Corradini	Of *Sezza* in Ecclesiast. Teritories, Priest.
	Orrighi	A Roman, Deacon.
	De Polignac	A Frenchman, Deacon
1713	*Erba Odescalchi*	Of *Milan*, Priest.
1715	*De Schomborn*	A German, Deacon.
	Olivieri	Of *Pesaro* in Eccleſiast. Territories, Deacon
	Junico Caraccioli	A Neapolitan, Priest.
	Scotti	Of *Milan*, Priest.
1715	*Marini*	A Genoese, Deacon.
	Thiard de Bissi	A Frenchman, Priest.
	Nicolas Caraccioli	A Neapolitan, Priest.
	Patrizii	Of *Sienna*, Priest.
	Nicolas Spinola	A Genoeze, Priest.
1717	*Borromeo*	Of *Milan*, Priest.
	Czaki	A Hungarian, Priest.
	Alberoni	Of *Plaisanſa*, Deacon.
1719	*De Gesvres*	A Frenchman, Priest.
	De Mailli	A Frenchman, Priest.
	Georges Spinola	A Genoese, Priest.
	Bentivoglio	Of *Ferrara*, Priest.
	Dalsace	Of *Flanders*, Priest.
	De Belluga	A Spaniard, Priest.
	De Pereira	A Portugueſe, Priest.
	D'Althan	A German, Priest.
	Salerno	A Neapolitan, Priest.
1720	*Barbarigo*	A Venetian, Priest.
	De Borgia	A Spaniard, Priest.
	Cienfuegos	A Spaniard, Priest.

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ROME's

ROME's Cabal, &c.

WHEN a Pope dies, Notice is given to the People by the ſound of a Bell from the Capitol, which is never rung but on this occaſion; after which four Cardinals, of different Orders, take the Adminiſtration of the Government upon them, *viz.* the Dean or firſt Cardinal Biſhop, the firſt Cardinal Prieſt, the firſt Cardinal Deacon, and the Cardinal Chamberlain: The latter ſends for all the Clerks of the Apoſtolical Chamber, and repairing in great ſtate to the Palace, views the Pope's Body, to ſee whether he be *infallibly dead*, and in preſence of the three other Cardinals takes off the Fiſherman's Ring from his Finger, which is the Great Seal of the Church, breaks it in two, and then conſulting with the other Cardinals, gives Directions about the Corps

and Funeral of the Deceaſed, which he orders to be embalm'd, cloath'd with his Pontifical Habit, and carried in proceſſion with extraordinary Pomp and Ceremony, to St. *Peter*'s Church, where he is laid for a few Days upon a high Bed of State, and the People are admitted to kiſs his Foot thro' Iron Rails. At the ſame time they chuſe a new Governour of *Rome*, or confirm the old one; declare the Governours of the Palace and Conclave, and read the Bull for executing the Laws and Statutes, during the Vacancy of the Holy See.

There is another Remarkable attending the Death of a Pope, which we muſt not omit, *viz.* That one of the City-Marſhals goes forth with the Banner of the People of *Rome*, and releaſes all Priſoners committed for light Offences: Where note, that the Death of a Pope is not a *Panpharmacon* to be apply'd to all ſorts of Crimes; for tho' it be allow'd by the Sacred College to have a redemptive force, yet it is limited to ſuch Enormities only as are capable of Human Forgiveneſs.

The Popes are generally interr'd in moſt ſumptuous *Mauſoleums*; which ſhews, that they have a mighty Value for their Bones, and think their Duſt and Aſhes worthy to be eterniz'd to Poſterity. But what ſignifies a pompous Tomb, tho' as wonderful as *Memnon*'s, where the diſhevel'd Beams of the

the Sun were so many Keys, and *Phœbus* play'd o'th' Harpsicord? I say, What signifies a glorious Monument to a Mansion in Heaven? Magnificent Sepulchres on *Earth* add nothing to the Quality of a Saint in *Cælo Empyræo*. This is true; but Highnesses and Eminencies, that doat so much upon the Splendours of this World, and admire the gaudy Shews of outward Ornaments, desire to have their dead Bones as well cloath'd as their living Bodies: Pardon 'em for Mansions in Heaven; they have not Leisure to build in two places so far distant at once. So that being Men that do nothing without a world of Hesitation and Deliberation, we may conceive they make their Election, and do that which they judge best. But this only by the way.

Now for the Preliminaries of the Conclave, or Assembly of Cardinals, that meet to elect the Pope.

This is a time when there are a thousand Surmises, Conjectures, and Discourses, whose Turn it will be next to procure the Widow *Church* a new Spouse, and to supply the wide Chasm; to which purpose Cabal, Faction, and Intrigue are as busie at *Rome* as Ants in Summer. Strange Prelude to a sacred Conclave! considering that it is a Maxim and Doctrin of the *Roman-Catholic* Church, as immutable as the Course of the Sun, That the Holy Ghost presides at the

Election of a Pope; That it is one of his most glorious Works; and, that he will infallibly chuse the very Person whom he shall judge most meet to govern his Church according to his Unchangeable Decrees and Eternal Designs.— Now an ordinary Christian would think there was no need of Faction and Cabal to assist the Holy Ghost in the management of so great an Undertaking, and that Canvasing and Intriguing were no fit Companions for the Third Person of the Trinity: But, *say they*, the Doctrin before mention'd is only proper to procure a Veneration of the Person when elected, among the People; Kings and States and the Sacred College, are above the Pedantry of Words; their Interests and Concerns are no Business of the Holy Ghost's, and therefore *ruat Cælum* when Heaven contends with Human Policy which is to govern the World. Certainly this must be not only a Sin, but a Crime against the Holy Ghost; and nothing can bring a greater Scandal upon the *Roman-Catholic* Religion, nor be more to the Reproach and Ignominy of her Sovereign Rulers.

But to return: After the Funeral Ceremonies, which last nine Days in Masses and Prayers for the Deceased, the Sacred College repair on the tenth Day to St. *Peter*'s Church, to celebrate the Mass of the Holy Ghost, when a Speech is frequently made upon the future

Ele-

Election of the Pope, which never wants Invectives againſt Intrigues and Factions, and contending with the Holy Ghoſt, all to no purpoſe; and at the ſame time an Exhortation is given to the Cardinals, to be careful of advancing to the Pontificate a Perſon every way qualified for that Dignity. After this, the Maſter of the Ceremonies takes the Croſs, preceded by the Muſicians who ſing the Hymn to the Holy Ghoſt, as being the peculiar Perſon of the Trinity, who is to be the Interior and Inviſible Governor of the Conclave: Then follow the Cardinals two and two, like ſo many Monks or inferior Prieſts in Proceſſion, and in that manner repair to the place conſecrated for the Election of a Pope, which depends upon the Cardinals Choice, but has for a conſiderable time been always done in the Vatican, where there are Cells made with Boards for every Cardinal, who chuſe them by Lots, to prevent thoſe of a Faction from being all together in any one part of the Conclave. They are all built in a long Gallery of the Palace, number'd, diſtinguiſh'd by each Cardinal's Coat of Arms, and hung on the outſide with green Serge or Camblet; but the Favourites of the Deceaſed, or thoſe promoted by him, cover theirs with Cloth of a deep Violet colour.

When the Cardinals, of whom there are Seventy in number, *viz.* Fifty Cardinal-Prieſts,

Prieſts, Fourteen Cardinal-Deacons, and Six Cardinal-Biſhops, are arriv'd in the Conclave, the Cardinal-Dean ſays ſome Prayers in *Sixtus Quintus*'s Chapel; after which every one takes his Place, and the Maſter of the Ceremonies having diſmiſs'd as prophane all that are not Members of the Conclave, the Doors are ſhut, for the Security and Quiet of the Electors, and to keep out Cabal and Partiality. Then the Secretary of the Sacred College reads aloud the Bulls that concern the Election of a Pope, and preſcribe the manner of proceeding: Which done, the Cardinals take an Oath to obſerve the Contents, that run in general upon the Purity and Diſintereſtedneſs of the Intention. Then they retire into their Cells to eat, and fall to with much more Sincerity of Stomach than they ſwore with Integrity of Heart. After this, they return to the Chapel, where the Hereditary Marſhal and Guardian of the Door of the Conclave takes his Oath between the Hands of the Cardinal-Dean, as does alſo the Prelate who is Governour of the Borough, or that part of the City that lies beyond the *Tyber*; and in like manner all the reſt of the Prelates that are entruſted with the keeping of ſeven wooden Towers, thro' which the Cardinals have their Victuals convey'd to 'em with great Order and Ceremony, [for two of the Cardinals Grooms lead the Van with long

long Violet-colour'd Quarterſtaffs in their Hands, having the Cardinal's Arms painted at the top: Then follows a Serjeant at Mace with a Silver Mace, attended by the Cardinal's Gentlemen, after whom comes the Squire-Carver with a Napkin upon his Shoulder, attended by two others with a Sack, and two more with a little Cheſt for the Liquors: The whole is ſearch'd by a Prelate, who is chang'd every Meal, to prevent their receiving of Letters; for this end their Wine is ſerv'd in Bottles of the cleareſt Cryſtal: And as ſoon as the Meat is taken in for every Cardinal, a certain Officer in a Violet Habit, carrying a Silver Mace, ſhuts up the Tower, which is preſently ſearch'd by a Prelate, who ſees that all be faſt, and then ſeals up all the Locks, while the Maſter of the Ceremonies does the ſame within. Moreover, the better to prevent their receiving of Letters, the Hereditary Marſhal ſets Guards at the ſaid wooden Towers, which are reliev'd from four *Corps du Guard* that poſſeſs the Piazza of St. *Peter*; and the *Switzers* are poſted and barricado'd in upon the Stairs of the *Vatican*. At the ſame time the Cardinals and Ambaſſadors keep Courts of Guard before their Palaces, beſides the common Guard of the City, and that of the Conclave, and this not ſo much for Oſtentation ſake, as out of meer Neceſſity; for, during the vacancy of the

Holy

Holy See, they never inflict any Puniſhment upon Offenders, ſo that the City ſwarms with *Banditti* and a licentious Mob, that care not what Miſchief they do, nor what Robberies they commit.]

Thus you ſee a great many Conſciences engag'd by Oath to ſecure the Cardinals from Surprize and Treachery; but, alas, an Oath is a more feeble Rampart in this Country than any other: Intereſt and Paſſion frequently diſcharge a Man from it; ſo that if their Eminencies had no other ſecurity in their *Pound*, they were to be pitied; yet one may be bold to ſay, that the Oath which is ſworn by the Governors and Prelatical Officers of the Conclave, to the Cardinals, is for the moſt part much more nicely and conſcientiouſly obſerv'd than the Oath of the Cardinals to the Holy Ghoſt.

After thoſe Oaths, the Cardinals give Audience to Ambaſſadors that have made their public Entries, who when admitted into the Conclave, appear with a profound Reſpect and bended Knees, becauſe they look upon this Body as repreſenting the whole Hierarchy of the Church; a Gudgeon which is readily ſwallow'd by Ambaſſadors that are accuſtom'd to bow in the Houſe of *Baal Rimmon*.

About Three a-Clock in the Morning they toll a Bell, which gives notice to the Maſter of the Ceremonies to cauſe all the

Doors

Doors and Windows of the Church to be ſtopp'd up, and the Dean and the Chamberlain-Cardinals walk their Rounds, to ſee that there be not a Hole left for the Sun by Day, nor the Moon by Night, to peep in at; for they cannot forget how the Sun betray'd *Mars* and *Venus*. Now the Cardinals are ſhut up ſeparately with only an Abbot, or other Clergyman, to attend them, who is therefore call'd a *Conclaviſt*, and receives their Dyet in at a Window. Beſides them there is no-body left in the Conclave but the Sexton with one Aſſiſtant, five Maſters of the Ceremonies with a Servant, the Secretary with a Clerk, one Surgeon, two Apothecaries with their Boys, two Barbers with their Boys, one Maſter Maſon, one Maſter Carpenter, and ſixteen Porters. All theſe high and mean Officers are elected by the plurality of Voices, in the Congregations that are held every Morning during the nine Days for ſolemnizing the Obſequies of the deceaſed Pope. But why five Maſters of the Ceremony? Certainly Formalities and Punctilio's muſt be very mutinous in this ſame Spiritual Conclave, that require no leſs than five Maſters to controul them. I like it better that there is but one Surgeon to two Apothecaries; for, of the two, 'tis better to be in the hands of three Apothecaries than one Surgeon. Beſides, conſidering that Cardinals never fight Duels,

and that they are harden'd againſt the Wounds of Conſcience, and conſequently never mind what never pains them, Surgeons are of no uſe among them; otherwiſe if the Wounds in their Conſciences ſhould once begin to feſter, not all the Surgeons in *Italy* would ſuffice to cure them.

The Conclave is cloſed up with Bricks, Doors Windows and all, as already has been ſaid; no, not a Chink left for Satan to enter, ſo that a Man would wonder how he gets in; only for the Health of the Perſons that inhabit this Noble and Glorious Dungeon, there's a Hole left in one of the great Windows of the Gallery, about two or three foot wide, over which however they nail a thick coarſe Canvaſs; and there 'tis to be imagin'd that ſome ſlippery Eel of a Tempter filters himſelf thro' the Pores of the Cloth. The Cardinals are oblig'd to meet every Evening and Morning in the *Vatican Chapel*, for a Scrutiny, which is done by writing their Suffrages in little Billets done up in two Folds, and ſeal'd with two Seals. In the firſt Fold the Conclaviſt writes the Name of the Cardinal whom his Maſter votes for, becauſe the Cardinal's Hand might be known: In the ſecond the Cardinal writes his own Name; and on the outſide the Conclaviſt writes any Motto the Cardinal pleaſes, as *Deo volente*, &c. by which they know their own Billets when they

they are read; for the Fold containing the Elector's Name is not open'd till the Pope be choſen, and then he opens all, to know who choſe him. When the Billets are ready, the Cardinals put them, after a ſhort Prayer, into a Chalice upon the Altar, and appoint two of their number to read the Names of the Cardinals aloud, and keep an Account of the number of Votes for each; and this they do until two thirds of the Votes fall upon one and the ſame Perſon; and if they do not, the Billets are all burnt. When two thirds agree in one, they come to what they call the *Acceſs*, which is to try whether the Perſon has two thirds or no, by going up to him, and ſaying *Ego accedo ad reverendiſſimum Dominum*, &c. If this does not ſucceed, they have recourſe to what they call *Inſpiration*, which is an open Declaration, or rather a Conſpiracy of many Cardinals to cry out together, *Such a one is Pope*. But this they rarely do, except they are ſure beforehand of two thirds of the Suffrages, and then the reſt are oblig'd to comply, to prevent the Diſpleaſure of the Pope, who would be thus choſen in ſpite of them.

When a Cardinal is choſen the Maſter of the Ceremonies carries him the News, and then he is brought to the Chapel cloath'd with the Pontifical Robes, and receives the Adoration of the Cardinals.

After this, the Gates of the Conclave are open'd, the Pope ſhews himſelf to the People, bleſſes them, and then the Cardinal-Deacon proclaims him with a loud Voice in Latin, *I tell you Tidings of great Joy; we have a Pope; the moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal ——— is choſen, and takes to himſelf the Name of* ———. From thence he is carried to St. *Peter*'s Church, the Cardinals going before him with a Croſs; and then coming to the High Altar, takes off his Mitre, kneels and prays, is ſet upon the Altar of the Apoſtles, and receives a ſecond Adoration from the Cardinals, who kiſs his Feet, Hands, and Mouth.

Some days after, he is crown'd upon a Throne before the Church of St. *Peter*, in preſence of the People, and afterwards they march in a Cavalcade from St. *Peter*'s to St. *John de Lateran*, at which all Ambaſſadors, Princes, and Lords aſſiſt. Next before the Pope, go the two Cardinal-Deans with their red Caps, and the reſt follow after two by two. When he comes to St. *John de Lateran*, he receives two Keys, one of Gold, and another of Silver: Then all the Canons of that Church pay him their Obeiſſance, and kiſſing his Foot, the Pope gives the general Bleſſing, and then enters upon the Government.

Up-

Upon the whole, an Ingenious Author, to whom we are oblig'd for the chief part of this Information, compares the Creation of a Pope, in ſome meaſure, to the Creation of Man. "A Council, *ſays he*, of the "Terreſtrial Deitys aſſembles and cries, "*Come let us make a Pope according to our* "*own Image.* They are all willing that a "Pope ſhould be made, but they cannot "agree upon a Perſon that they think will "ſuit with all their Humors. 'Tis pity "that the firſt Founder of Cardinals and "Papal Elections did not ordain, That "their Eminencies ſhould be ſhut up in "the Conclave without Meat, Drink, or "Candle, till they had agreed in their "Verdict, like an Engliſh Jury; ſuch a "Severity would ſoon enlighten their In-"tellectuals, quicken their Inſpiration, and "make them ſend out a fit Perſon to go-"vern the Church in the twinkling of an "Eye, whereas Sloth and Eaſe are the "Mother of Mutiny and Faction, which "being full fed by Time and Delay, the "Mother of Opportunity, breed all thoſe "Diſtempers and Diſorders that infect the "Conclave. To which we may add the Advantage which the Cardinals have to carry on their Deſigns by the Craft of the Conclaviſts, who being introduc'd and allow'd two to each Cardinal, under the

the notion of Servitors, are the Panders to their Intrigues.

" The Cardinals, *says Father* Paul, *in his* " *Council of* Trent, when they enter the " Conclave, are allow'd two Servants each, " one as a Chaplain, the other as a Cham- " berlain; which are made choice of rather " to serve in Negociations than to wait " upon the Persons of their Patrons; and " are generally, for that reason, the most " exquisite Courtiers in *Rome*; nor have " they a less Share in the Practices of the " Conclave than their Patrons themselves. " From whence it is a Custom for the new " Pope, when the Conclave breaks up, to " admit them all into his Family, and to " allow them great Privileges; and among " the rest, if they are Priests or Ecclesiastics, " to make what Merchandise they please " of the Benefices which they hold.

Nor are the Doors and Windows of the Conclave so fast barr'd, but that Bribery will sometimes screw it self in: And thus you have all the Tools that make or marr a Struggler for the Popedom.

While the Cardinals are thus busie *within*, the Ambassadors of the *Catholic* Princes are no less strenuously active *without*; and happy he that can invent the most cunning Shifts, and convey with the greatest Secrecy, the most *Billet doux* to the Cardinals of their Fa-

Faction. And what is all this ſerious Foolery for, but a ſolemn and pompous Contention among ſo many Princes, to get a Perſon that ſhall be able ſo to manage their Religion, as to make it twiſt and bend, turn and wind, and combine and comply with the Lunacies of their Intereſt and Ambition? The Pope then may call himſelf what he pleaſes; he may aſſume the Titles of GOD's Vicegerent upon Earth, the Vicar of Chriſt, and St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor; he is no more than the Maſter Wheel that moves the great Engine of Religious Pretence; that which ſets him going is ponderous Intereſt, and when he's down, the *Cardinals* and *Catholic Princes* wind him up again.

During the Conclave, while 'tis uncertain to whoſe ſhare the *Tiara* will fall, People only make Conjectures, and ſtudy in whoſe Favour they may apply ſome Prophecy of *Noſtradamus*, or the Abbot *Joachim*; for in *Rome*, as well as in other Places, there is a ſort of Opinioniſts, who believe that nothing happens in the World but what is written in the Stars, or 'foretold by ſome ancient or modern Soothſayer. They commonly feel one another's Pulſes, and toſs a few Balls before they come to play the Sett, ſo that many times the Cardinals firſt nominated would willingly be without that Honour, leſt it ſhou'd only ſerve to exclude them from the laſt Nomination. In ſhort,

the

the Paſſages of a Conclave would make ſeveral pleaſant Scenes in a good Comedy; ſo far is the Election of a Pope from what their Hypocritical Eminencies will have it to be, the ſole Work of the Holy Ghoſt: Every Cardinal there plays his Part with all the Art imaginable. Even the Zealots themſelves make uſe of Diſſimulation and Juggle, to make Heaven declare it ſelf in their favour: There is no way which they omit to diſcover one another's Deſigns. Sometimes, diſguis'd like Conclaviſts, they ſtand hearkening at one another's Doors: Sometimes they walk about the Conclave, examining one another's Countenances, and engage one another in Diſcourſe to ſatisfie their Suſpicions. Thus Cardinal *Negroni*, at the Election of the late Pope, being one who pretended to live after the Apoſtolic manner, and without reſpect of Perſons, went frequently with a Crucifix in his Hand, viſited the Cardinals Cells, and ſhewing his Crucifix, *Behold*, ſays he, *your Emperor and your Monarch, for whom alone you ought to have a Regard, and not for any other!* And to a Cardinal that buſtled very hard for the Pontificate, and for whom he had no great Kindneſs, he ſaid, *You may reſt your ſelf contented, and ſleep in quiet, upon my Word, for no body thinks of you.* —— And at the Election of this Pope's Nameſake and Predeceſſor, *Clement* VIII, *Inigo Avalo* Cardinal

dinal of *Arragon*, confeſs'd, That Cardinal *Santorio* promis'd him eight thouſand Crowns in Gold to joyn with his Party in the Conclave. — In a word, all the Cardinals make uſe of all ſorts of Artifices to conceal their real Deſigns, and many times nominate Perſons to no other purpoſe than to blaſt their Hopes: So that he muſt have a Mountain of Faith who believes the Election of Popes to be the immediate Hand of Heaven; neither can it be imagin'd that the Pope elected believes it himſelf.

APPENDIX,

On the late POPE.

POPE *Clement* XI, who dy'd *March* 19: 1721, was deſcended from a Noble Family in the Dutchy of *Urbino* in *Italy*, and born at the City of *Peſaro* in that State, on the 22d of *July* 1649, the very Day of the Month on which Pope *Clement* X. died. His Original Name was *John Francis Albani*.

As to his Character and gradual Preferment to the Chair; he was highly eſteem'd for his Learning, which he made appear in ſeveral Academies whereof he was a Mem-

ber, and especially in that erected by Queen *Christina* of *Sweden*, who put a great Value on him by reason of his profound Learning in Antiquity. He had a large share of Knowledge in the Civil and Canon Law, and such a good Latin Stile, that Pope *Innocent* XI. made him Secretary of the Briefs. He always courted the Favour of Cardinal *Ottoboni*, afterwards Pope by the Title of *Alexander* VIII, who as soon as he was advanc'd to the Pontifical Chair, made him his Domestic Prelate, Secretary of his secret Briefs, and on *Febr.* 13, 1691, rais'd him to the Purple. As he depended entirely upon the Family of *Ottoboni*, so that Pope consulted him in several Affairs, and built much upon his Advice. His Successor *Innocent* XII also made him Secretary of State, chief Datary, and Cardinal of the Palace. Yet notwithstanding all his Learning and Worth in other respects, he was reckon'd a very great Dissembler, full of Subtilty and Cunning, and very politic; excellent Qualities for a Supreme Pontiff! This appears to have been the Pourtraiture that was made of him at *Rome*; for, being advanc'd to the Papal Dignity in *November* 1700, he was scarce warm in his Chair, but out came the following Latin Distich.

Upon

Upon Cardinal John Francis Albani.

Roma cave, immeritis Cœlum quem laudibus effers
Callidus & mendax subdolus atque Vafer.

Which our Author has thus Engliſh'd:

Rome, *have a care, his undeſerved Praiſe*
How to the Skies thy flatt'ring Metres raiſe;
He's crafty, ſubtle, and if Man can do't,
He'll cheat all Men, and next the Devil to boot.

How far this Character has been verified is ſo well known to the preſent Age, that 'tis needleſs to mention Particulars. He liv'd in a Period in which almoſt all *Europe* was engag'd in War; and therefore 'tis ſufficient to obſerve in general, that as his was one of the greateſt Scenes of Action that ever Pope ſaw, ſo he play'd faſt and looſe with all the Sons of the Church, from the Eldeſt down to *Perkin* the Neſtletripe; even thoſe call'd the *Moſt Chriſtian* and the *Moſt Catholic*, have in their Turns been ſcorch'd by his Thunder, and gored by his Bulls; or, when his Purpoſe was to be ſerv'd by more amicable Methods, then he has not fail'd to wheedle them with Indulto's, Diſpenſations, Indulgences, and the like Catholic Sugar plumbs. It was charged upon him as a Fault, at his entrance

on the Papacy, That he did not love the Jeſuites; but towards his Exit he let the World ſee that they were his Favourites, and that he did not love the Janſeniſts. Witneſs the Spirit he rais'd againſt them in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*, and eſpecially in *France*, where he kindled ſuch a Fire of Contention among the Clergy, by means of his Bull *Unigenitus*, that the Smoak of it will not eaſily vaniſh; and if his Succeſſor does not cut that Bull ſhorter by the Horns, I know not but the Fire may blaze out, and ſpread with too much Vehemence for all the Water in the *Tyber* to quench it.

It muſt however be ſaid, in Juſtice to him, That he had his Virtues as well as his Failings; but as the full Delineation of both the one and the other, would ſwell this to too large a Volume, and as it ſeems an Eminent Pen has promis'd to undertake a *Hiſtory of his Life and Times* at large, we ſhall return to the Deſign of this Piece: And therefore, in order to give the Reader a compleat View of the ſeveral Parts that are now playing on the Theatre of *Rome*, we ſhall conclude with an Account of this Pope's Election and Coronation, wherein he actually outdid the Great *Sixtus Quintus* in Cunning and Hypocriſie.

It was reported, That Cardinal *Casanati*, then living, 'foretold the late Pope's Advancement to the Chair, tho' at the time of his Election he was a Person that never was number'd in the List of those who were thought most likely to carry the Day, being (besides other Reasons) not above Fifty Years of age, and therefore reckon'd too young to succeed so many Old Women that had sate in the Chair before him: And for this very Reason too he was oppos'd by the French Cardinals to a Man. However, his Interest was carried on by the *Italians*, &c. with such *Jehu*-like Fury, that it prevail'd. And now enter *Dissimulation* and *Self-denial* in Disguise; for *Albani* was no such ill Bowler, but that he knew a Rub many times turns the Bowl to the Jack; and therefore, as it is the Humour of many People to seem to refuse what they most covet in their Hearts, especially when they believe themselves sure of it, he fell a weeping, and cry'd out, "He was too young, and "consequently unable to bear so heavy a "Burden, being troubled with a Swel-"ling in his Feet; and, that he had much "rather dye. Nay, if Report may be believ'd, his inward Joy was such, that it caus'd a *Terræ Motus* in his Microcosm, and such a *Hiatus Stomachi*, that he fell a

Vo-

Vomiting; which made him keep his Bed for a Day or two. All this was done so well to the life, and he so seriously profes's'd, that he would never be Pope, that his Friends the Cardinals thought him in earnest; upon which they pres's'd him again and again to accept the Dignity that was offer'd him, but he as often refus'd it, upon the score of his crazy Health; besides, that he had a great many poor Kindred, for whom he had abundance of Tenderness, and for whom it would be a great Grief that he could not provide, by reason of the Severity of the Bull against Nepotism. In short, he was so teaz'd by the Cardinals, that it threw him into a Fever; whereupon his Physicians advis'd them to desist, and *Ottoboni* gave Order, that he should be pray'd for in several Churches: *A certain Gentleman disturb'd in Mind about his being elected to the Popedom, desires the Prayers of this Congregation, that the Lord would direct him what to do.*

The 23d of *November*, 1700, being the Day of his Election, he still shew'd such an extream Repugnancy to it, that in the Morning he would not admit the Cardinals to kiss his Hand, according to Custom; nor would he be accompany'd as usual to *Sixtus* the Fourth's Chapel, but went

went alone. The Cardinals repairing thither alſo, after the uſual Maſs *de Eligendo*, &c. Invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, reciting the Hymn *Veni Creator*, and the Prayer *Deus qui Corda*, ſhut the Doors, examin'd the Acceſſit and the Scrutiny of the Suffrages, which were carried *Nem. Con.* for *Albani*; and Proof having been made as uſual by the ſuperviſing Cardinals, the Maſters of the Ceremonies were ſent for, and the Schedules or Scrolls burnt. Then the Dean with the other Cardinals waited on the Pope elect, and demanded his Conſent in theſe words, which is the common Form on this occaſion, *Acceptas ne Electionem de te legitime factam in ſummum Pontificem?* i. e. "Do you accept of being Pope, according "to your Legal Election? His Eminency deſiring a ſhort time for Prayer, turn'd to the Sacred College, and made them a very pathetic Speech, aggravating more and more his Inſufficiency, aſſuring them, That the Virtues which ſome had perceiv'd in him were not real; and, That he had deceiv'd all the World, in cauſing himſelf to be eſteem'd for what in truth he was not; therefore, *he ſaid*, he was ready to renounce all his Right in the Election, deſir'd the Cardinals to proceed to a new one, and conjured them to conſider, if they did not yield to his Entreaties, they would render them-

themſelves guilty of all the miſchievous Conſequences of ſuch a bad Choice to the Church; and, That they would burthen their Souls with a terrible Account, which they were to give before the Tribunal of Jeſus Chriſt at the Day of Judgment. But at length, ſeeing all he could ſay made no Impreſſion, and that all the Cardinals gave him no other Anſwer than a general Groan, as if they languiſh'd after his Conſent, he yielded with freſh Tears and a new Proteſtation, which he made, becauſe he would not commit a mortal Sin, as the Divines whom he conſulted aſſur'd him he would do, if he reſiſted any longer.

After this, the Dean, or elſe the Maſter of the Ceremonies, ask'd him what Name he would pleaſe to take: To whom the Pope reply'd, *Clement* XI, becauſe his Election fell out on that Saint's Day, who had ſpilt his Blood for the Church. Then the Maſter of the Ceremonies drew up an Act of his Acceptance of the two ſenior Cardinals, led him in the middle between them before the Altar to ſay his Prayers, and afterwards within the Altar, where they pull'd off his Cardinals Habit, and put on the Caſſock of white Taffata, with the Rochet, the Camail [*a purple Ornament like a Captain's Gorget*] the little red Callotte, or a Captain's Cap call'd *Cumauro*, and the

the Pantoffles embroider'd with a Croſs in Gold. This done, they ſeated him in the Pontifical Chair before the Altar, where firſt the Dean, and then all the Cardinals ſucceſſively, in their Violet Caſſocks and their Rochets, went to kiſs his Hand, and to be embrac'd by him according to cuſtom. At the ſame time alſo he receiv'd the Fiſher's Ring from the Cardinal-Chamberlain.

While this was doing, the firſt Cardinal-Deacon, after he had kiſs'd the Pope's Hand and been embrac'd by him, went out with a Croſs in his Hand, and proclaim'd him to the People; upon which all the Canon of St. *Angelo*, and the ſmall Arms of the Garriſon, were fired; the Roman Senate, Princes, Prelates, and all others of Quality that were in Town, went to compliment him; all the Bells of the City were rung, and nothing was to be heard but Acclamations of Joy.

It is the Cuſtom for the Popes to dine the firſt Day, in the Cell of the Dean of the College, but *Clement* dined in another. He receives the ſecond Adoration of the Cardinals in the Chapel of the Conclave, where the Cardinals firſt kiſs his Holineſs's Feet, and then his Hands, and are embrac'd by the new Pope, for their Humility. From hence the Pope is carried in Proceſſion to St. *Peter*'s Cathedral in the

Pontifical Chair call'd *La Sede Geſtatoria*, having a Croſs born before him, attended by all the Cardinals in their Copes and the Singing-men of the Chapel, ſinging, *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*, i. e. *Behold the Great High-prieſt*, &c. As ſoon as he is arriv'd at Church, he is ſet up like one of the Idols of the Heathen, upon the great Altar, and while *Te Deum* is ſung by the Dean of the College, the Cardinals pay him the third Adoration, after the ſame manner as the ſecond, with this addition, that after the Ceremony is over, the Pope deſcends, and gives his firſt Benediction to the People; and for that purpoſe the ſecond Cardinal-Deacon takes off his Mitre, which is return'd by the Senior of the ſame Order. This done, the Pope puts off his Pontifical Mantle and Mitre, and is carried back to his Apartment in a cloſe Chair, attended by a numerous Train of Quality.

Here it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that *Platina*, who was Keeper of the *Vatican* Library, and wrote the Lives of the Popes, ſays, That in their Proceſſions betwixt St. *Peter's* Cathedral and St. *John de Lateran*, the Popes us'd to be carried by the way of the *Coloſſian* Theatre and St. *Clements*, but that ſince the 8th Century, when Pope *Joan* was ſaid to be deliver'd of a Child as ſhe was carried that way, the Popes have declin'd going thro' that Street for ſhame; and, that to avoid the

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A VINDICATION of the CONSECRATION OF Archbishop CRANMER, AGAINST OBJECTIONS of *Papists* and others.

As also, a VINDICATION of Archbishop *PARKER*'s Consecration.

IN WHICH

The *Nagg's Head* FABLE is Exploded.

To which is Added,

APPENDIX, containing the Thoughts of Dr. PRIDEAUX, concerning the Celibacy of the CLERGY.

In a LETTER to Mr. JOSEPH SMITH.

Quid Romæ faciam? Mentiri nescio. Juven.
Amara veritas est, & quisquis sibi malè conscius est, se putat attactum. Erasm. Ep. to Archb. Wareham.

By *I. SHARPE*, A. M.

LONDON,
Printed for R. WILKIN, at the *King's Head* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and G. STRAHAN, at the *Golden Ball* in *Cornhill*; and sold by *E. Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall*. 1721. Price *One Shilling*.

TO THE

CLERGY

OF THE

Church of *England.*

Moſt Reverend, Right Reverend and Reverend,

THIS *Treatiſe was not wrote with any Intention to inform you, (for you know from whence I had the Materials to compoſe it) but to ſhew the Activity of the* omiſh *Emiſſaries at this day, to make Converts to eir corrupt* Church, *and to inform the* Engliſh *ader concerning the* Canonical Conſecration *of rchbiſhop* Cranmer: *(For 'tis plain, they ever were, d ever will be very buſie to confound our People ncerning the Miniſtry of the Church of* England;) *d to prevent, as much as I was able, the Layity our Church from going over to* Rome.

If I ſucceed in my Deſign, let God have the aiſe. 'Tis my Duty to defend that Church *in ich I was Baptized, and in which, by God's ace, I deſire to die: For I could never yet ſee 'tho' I have ſeen* Popery *in the Height of* ſuper-

ſtition, *if not* Idolatry, *in Foreign Parts*) *a Reaſon to leave a Pure Church for a Corrupt, I may ſay, a moſt Corrupt one, as that of the Church of* Rome *is: And I'm amazed to find any of the* Layity, *much more, any of the* Clergy, *revolting from their Church, and becoming Proſelytes to the Doctrine of the* Great Man *at* Rome. *It can never be Reaſon, Scripture or Antiquity (for they are all againſt* Popery) *that can make them* Converts: *It muſt be* Self Intereſt, *or ſomewhat worſe. I confeſs, I can look upon ſuch as Apoſtates from a* Pure Church; *and what their Doom will be (except they repent and return, which God grant) I ſhall not determine; but ſhall leave their Caſe to be decided at the* General Audit.

Not only the Papiſts, *but alſo the* Free-Thinkers, Deiſts, Atheiſts, *and others, are laying the Axe to the Root of the Tree; and if they can accompliſh their curſed and helliſh Deſign of overthrowing the Church of* England's Prieſthood, *then farewel the Church; farewel Religion pure and undefiled, in this once fortunate Iſland.*

The Church of England *and its* Clergy *are the Common* BUTT *that all its Enemies aim at: And if the* Papiſts *with their open Aſſaults fail in the Attack, they call in their Auxiliaries the* Diſſenters *to help forward our Ruin: For 'tis plain to a Demonſtration, that they are Confederates with* Rome, *and are in a Plot to blaſt the Reputation of the* Clergy, *and then to blow up the* Conſtitution.

I cannot take an exact View of a Rigid Dissenter from our Church, but methinks, I see a Papist *in a* Masquerade: *For all, or most of their pestilent Doctrines were coined in the* Popish Mint. *The* Infallibility *of the* Quakers, *and the* Deposition of Kings, *had their Original from thence.* Lay-Baptism *came from* Rome: *What I mean by* Lay-Baptism, *is, any pretended Baptism, without Episcopal Authority: For such, wherever it happens, I take to be Invalid.*

The Arguments against Episcopacy *are all fetcht from the Learned* Jesuit's *Speech at the Council of* Trent; *and our* Dissenters *are constantly making use of those very Arguments against* Bishops.

This, my Lords *and* Brethren, *is the Black Squadron that are troublesome to our Peace and Tranquillity. But 'tis to be hoped, that my poor Endeavours, with the Assistance of some* Abler Pens, *will prevent the Conspiracy of these bold* Pretenders. *It is well known, as I have hinted already, that the* Popish *Dissenter, and the Dissenters in other Shapes, joined with the Tribe of* Jesuits, *those Locusts of the infernal Pit, are implacable and irreconcilable Enemies to our Church.*

Flectere si nequeant Superos, Acheronta movebunt.

Our Blessed Lord has declared, that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against his Church: And the Clergy

Clergy *of our Church, 'tis to be hoped, will no*
ſtand ſtill and ſuffer thoſe Pioneers *to undermine and*
ruine it. With ſubmiſſion to my Superiours I ſpeak
it, As they are the Watchmen of our Iſrael, *they*
ought (as I hope they do) to attend their Motions
and countermine their infernal Projects. *The* Pa-
piſts, *with their Legions of* Infidels, *delight to fiſh*
in our troubled Waters; and, like the Phariſees *of*
old, their Brethren, they reſolve to compaſs Sea and
Land to gain Proſelytes. This is the Deſign; and
if we let them alone, whole Shoals will go off to the
Church of Rome. *What a ſad Account ſhall ſuch*
indolent Watchmen, Shepherds *and* Overſeers *of*
our Church, give at the dreadful Tribunal! To ſtand
ſtill, and to ſee the Romiſh *and* Fanatick *Wolf*
make havock of the Sheep, *is amazing; and woe to*
that Watchman *and that* Shepherd, *who takes not*
care of the Charge of his Flock. The Care of Souls
(ſays Biſhop Stillingfleet *in his Firſt Charge)* is a
Matter of wonderful Weight and Importance,
and can never be ſufficiently conſider'd by thoſe
that are concerned in it. *And in the ſame Charge,*
(p. 165.*) he gives his Advice to his Clergy.* Lead
(ſays he) your Flock by your Example, as well as
by your Doctrine; and then you may much bet-
ter hope that they will follow you: For the Peo-
ple are naturally Spies upon their Miniſters; and
if they obſerve them to mind nothing but the
World all the Week, they will not believe them in
Earneſt, when on the Lord's Day they perſuade
them againſt it. *His Lordſhip ſeems to talk Pro-*
phetically. And Cardinal Cajetan *on* Acts 8. *has*
theſe Words: Officium curæ animarum eſt præ-
cipuum

ipuum, ac ſpiritualiſſimum Dei Donum. Woe (*ſays the Prophet* Zechariah) be to the Idle Shepherd hat leaveth the Flock. For certainly, (*ſays Bihop* Burnet) There are no ſuch Enemies to the atrimony and Right of the Church, as thoſe hat Eat the Fat, but do not Preach the Goſpel, nd Feed the Flock.

Theſe, and a Hundred more Expreſſions which I ould Name, (one would think) wou'd be more than nough to Rouſe (pardon the Expreſſion) the Clergy o defend their Church and Flocks, againſt their Eemies on every Side. This, I am ſure of, (moſt Reverend !) *that if the Clergy wou'd ſtand to their auſe, and mind That, more than their Temporal Profit, (as 'tis hop'd they will, when they ſee themelves, and their Mother the Church in ſuch Danger, (as I am afraid it is) there is no Power upon Earth, able to attack Them and their Church.*

A VINDICATION OF Archbiſhop *CRANMER*'s CONSECRATION:

SIR,

YOUR Converſation with me upon a View of the Picture of the Reformed Biſhops in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, was at firſt very, I may ſay, unaccountably ſurpriſing.

I remember, you juſtly obſerv'd, 'twas very ſtrange, that CRANMER, only a Presbyter, ſhould preſume to Conſecrate the other Biſhops in that Picture. What mean you, Sir, by that, ſaid I? I mean, reply'd you, That 'twas told at a Friend's Houſe by a Perſon who boldly, and with Impudence aſſerted, that *Cranmer* was made a Biſhop by *Henry the Eighth*; that is, he was made a Biſhop by the King, without any Conſecration perform'd by other Biſhops. That's a bold Aſſertion, I reply'd, without the leaſt grounds of Veracity.

Another Obſervation you juſtly made, that 'twas very ſtrange the whole College of Biſhops ſhould

refuſe to comply with the King, and that none ſhould agree to perform the Conſecration of CRANMER.

You know, Sir, I aſſur'd you, that I would give you ſatisfaction to the Point in hand: And I believe by this time you are ſenſible of ſome little Service I have done to you. If you are eaſie in this Point (as I am ſure, you ought to be) I am heartily glad that I have been inſtrumental to keep ſteady ſo good a Friend, and ſo bright a Member of the Church of *England*.

But, Sir, that Babling Fellow, (who is better at his Legs, than at Argument or Hiſtory, a Chriſtian in Maſquerade, and, I am afraid, a Pretender to Popery) had the Aſſurance (I was going to ſay Impudence) to aſſert, that he had propoſed the Queſtion to many Clergymen, who, with all their Reading, could not prove their Miſſion.

This warm'd a Clergyman then preſent, who, I have reaſon to believe, has ſufficiently vindicated the Miſſion of the *Engliſh* Clergy. What this Prater ſays, I take to be *gratis dictum*, Bounce of Words, without Veracity; for Vouchers, I am confident he has none. Nay, the Papiſts themſelves are againſt him in this Point, as I ſhall prove in the Sequel: And what reaſon then have I to ſubſcribe to his *ipſe dixit*? But if there be any Truth in his Aſſertion, I muſt think that thoſe Clergymen are very ignorant in Church-Hiſtory.

Be that as it will, I ſee no reaſon why our whole Order ſhould be run down by ſuch an impudent Forger. Before I have done, I will prove that CRANMER was Conſecrated by Three Biſhops: And if I don't perform the Task, I will readily acknowledge my ſelf a falſe Retailer of Hiſtory, and ſhall willingly ſubmit my ſelf to the Cenſure (whatever it be) of my Superiours.

I

I am told, that this Perſon pretends to be a Member of the Church of *England:* But I am afraid, he's a Pretender, in the worſt ſence of the Word; tho' I have grounds to believe that he's a Papiſt in Maſquerade, and an Agent for the Church of *Rome.* If he is really of our Church, he acts the Part of a Viper, by eating out the Bowels of his own Mother: For what Glory is it to be a Member of ſuch a monſtrous *Eraſtian* Church, a Church that has no Foundation in the Holy Scripture; a Church, of which our Bleſſed Saviour is not Head; a Church, againſt which the Gates of Hell will prevail? But, thanks be to God, tis not ſo bad with us.

With ſubmiſſion to my Superiours, there is one thing wanted to illuſtrate our Reformation; and that is, that the Temporal Prince would be pleas'd to give up the *Congé d'elire*; and then our Church would be the Glory of the whole World. But I am afraid, the time is not yet come, (I pray God it may be near) that we ſhould enjoy ſuch a Bleſſing.

Another Obſervation of yours was juſt; that the Papiſts, from *Cranmer's* Reforming, to the *Nagg's Head Fable,* (which was many Years) were ſilent in this pretended Fact: For if the Fact was true, to make ſhort work, they needed not to have uſed ſuch Methods as they did, in that abominable Piece of Forgery, as that of the *Nagg's-Head Clubb.* Which Story Sir, you ſay, the Pretender gave up; and conſequently, if he has not a Secret againſt Bluſhing, there's a Neceſſity for him to give up the Lay-Conſecration of CRANMER. But of this more by and by.

My Province is eaſie; and I ſhall be able to ſhew, that the Papiſts in the time of Queen ELIZABETH (of Glorious Memory,) and long before, did acknowledge that *Cranmer* was duly Conſecrated Archbiſhop. And if I ſet this in a true light, I ſhall gain my point.

But why, in the Name of God, ſhould this monſtrous Notion be ſtarted at this time of day? I can ſee no reaſon, unleſs it be to divide us more, to make Proſelytes to the Church of *Rome*. God knows, our Diviſions are great enough already; too great; the Lord in his Mercy be our Healer of Breaches.

There's no doubt, but in this time of Diſtraction the Enemy is buſie in gaining Converts to a corrupt Church: And what ſatisfaction ſuch Converts can find in the Boſom of that Church, is beyond my Apprehenſion. 'Tis a true Obſervation, that when any revolt from our Church, they wander from Sect to Sect, and at laſt fix in Popery or Atheiſm.

This ought to be a ſufficient Caution for our Members to hold faſt to the Faith, deliver'd to the Saints. All things neceſſary to Salvation are in the Church of *England*. And he who goes over to the *Romiſh* Church, muſt have the Digeſtion of a Stork, to ſwallow *Tranſubſtantiation*, and the other Articles of Pope *Pius* s Creed: And he who joins himſelf to a Conventicle, cannot be ſaid to be a Member of the Catholick Church. Thoſe who revolt from Epiſcopacy, are *Schiſmaticks*. The Diſſenters revolt from Epiſcopacy: The Concluſion is plain, that They are *Schiſmaticks*.

I cannot ſee which Propoſition is to be deny'd. The Practice of the Catholick Church from the Apoſtles to *John Calvin* proves the Major; and that the Minor is true, our own Experience proves.

But now to come to the Point in hand, *viz.* whether CRANMER was an Intruder (without Epiſcopal Orders) into the Archiepiſcopal See of *Canterbury*.

'Tis acknowledg'd on all hands, that That See was Vacant; ſo in that ſence *Cranmer* could not be an Intruder. And I muſt look for what can be ſaid for, or againſt the other ſence.

The

The Learned and Reverend Mr. *Mason*, in his Admirable Book, *viz.* *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, has fully clear'd this Point, as you'll see in the Sequel. It is wrote in the way of Dialogue betwixt *Philodoxus*, a Popish Priest, and *Orthodoxus*, a Priest of the Church of *England*. To give the Argument its full force, I shall proceed in the same Method.

Phil. Becan, a Father of the Jesuits Order, so bespeaks the English Bishops: 'Ye are not lawfully Consecrated: For by whom? Were they from the King? But he has not the Power of Consecrating. Were they from the Bishop of *Canterbury*, or any other like him? Not that truly; for *Thomas Cranmer*, who obtained the Bishoprick of *Canterbury* under *Henry* the Eighth, was not Consecrated by any Bishop; but was intruded and designed by the King alone. Whosoever therefore were afterwards Consecrated by him, were not Consecrated Legally, but presumptuously. [*Becan. contr. Ang. C.* 9. *n.* 6.] *Mason, lib.* 2. *cap.* 7.

Orth. Enough, *Becan*, on the Lord's Anointed, *James* and *Henry*, petulantly and Jesuitically. For first, you obliquely flout at our most Serene King *James* I. as if he had Consecrated Bishops with his own Hands. Why do you ask, Whether they were Consecrated by the King, unless it were to cast a blind and empty Mist before your Readers, that such a Fact was done by our King? Besides, it is a wicked and audacious Calumny, for you to say, that K. *Henry* intruded any one into an Episcopal See without Consecration. For in constituting Bishops, our Kings give up to Bishops what belongs to them; because they do that, which they (the Kings) cannot do by their Royal Right; that is, what is not consentaneous to the Word of God, and the Laws of the King-

Kingdom; and what, it is manifeſt, the moſt Ho
Kings and Emperors, Precedents to others, acte
with the greateſt Praiſe. Moreover, if you fauci
fly at the Lord's Anointed, what wonder is it if yo
ſuperciliouſly treat *Cranmer*, and utter ſo infamous
Lye, as if he was not Conſecrated by any Biſhop
Your *Becanick* Contumely not only redounds o
CRANMER alone, but upon the Clergy of the Eng
liſh Church, whoſe Orders, we deny not, cam
from CRANMER. But, come on, let us feign thef
things to be true, which are objected; but take car
that the Blame does not fall on your own Hea
Do you not now perceive, that you weaken th
Rings of your Golden Chain? If *Cranmer* was no
a Biſhop, 'tis as certain, that *Anthony* of *Landaff* an
Thomas of *Ely* were not; who both, as it is appa
rent from the Archives, did derive their Conſecra
tion from *Cranmer*; yet both were approved in Q
Mary's Reign; Both conferred Holy Orders on o
thers. For one of them, *viz.* ELY, by Pope *Pau*
the Fourth; (and who of you has the Confidence to
ſay, that a Pope will lye?) is called *Illuſtrious and*
Venerable Brother and Biſhop, and had a *Diploma* to try
CRANMER. [See *Acts and Mon. in vit. Cranmeri*, 1930.
If this will not ſatisfie *Becan*, I'll remit him to *Par*
ſons the Jeſuit; who, altho' he's ſparing in his Fa
vours to *Cranmer*, and our Men; nevertheleſs he o
penly confeſſes that he was a true Biſhop, [*C.*
Conv. p. 1. *p.* 230. and 208.]

Phil. Father *Henry Fitz Simon* ſufficiently defend
from your Laſhes our *Becan*, againſt whom you ſo
impotently inveigh.

Orth. Let us joyn Battel; and if you pleaſe, mu
ſter up the Forces of that Jeſuit. But in the firſt
place, the true State of the Queſtion is to be with-

out

but Fraud or Fucus prefix'd. *Becan* hath said, that *Cranmer* was not Consecrated by any Bishop, but intruded by the King alone. Therefore the Question is, whether *Cranmer* was intruded into the See of *Canterbury* without Episcopal Consecration, by *Henry* the Eighth. He affirms, I deny; and with many Arguments I'll destroy that Assertion.

Phil. Fitz-Simon with three Arguments defends the Opinion of *Becan*; the first of which is fetch'd from the Monuments and Consular Acts of the most Learned Authors of the whole World.

Orth. Of the most Learned Authors? Tell me, how many?

Phil. One he names.

Orth. For more he could not. But oh! What do I hear? Of Authors he boasts, and is able to name but one. Behold the Pride, and Jesuitical Pomp! But who this One is, I long to know.

Phil. It is *Nicholas Sanders.*

Orth. Hey-day! Can nothing shame thee? Stop to name that *Augean* Stable of Lies and Calumnies, that most lying Author of the whole World. But what Consular Acts dost thou talk of?

Phil. The Law of Parliament, of which *Sanders* thus speaks (*de Schis. lib.* 3. *p.*296.) 'Henry the 8th, the Root 'of Sin, when he had divided his Kingdom from the 'Church and the Apostolick See, order'd that no 'Man elected to be a Bishop, should require the 'Pope's Bull, or the Apostolical Mandate; but should 'only bring the Royal *Diploma* or Writ.

Orth.

Orth. But go on.

Phil. My Author *Fitz Simon* here fixes his Foot he goes no further.

Orth. Truly, he ought. But I will not repine to annex the very next Words of *Sanders*. 'But that 'he may bring only the Royal *Diploma*, according 'to which he is to be commanded to be Ordained 'by Three Biſhops, with the Conſent of the Me- 'tropolitan; ſuch a one to be a true Biſhop, not o- 'therwiſe the Ordained ought to be acknowledg'd 'to be a Biſhop. Hitherto *Sanders*. But *Fitz-Simon*, by ill reciting, betrays his Wickedneſs and Improbity: For that which is the Head of the Cauſe, that he ſpoils, and deceitfully paſſes over. Do the Followers of *Loyola* ſo mangle and ſpoil a moſt Learned Author? O noble Jeſuitical Fraud! But I ſee the Place of *Sanders*; tho' not yet able to ſee *Fitz-Simon's* Argument. He ought to have proved, that K. *Henry* the Eighth, without any Epiſcopal Conſecration, had intruded CRANMER. But the Citation from *Sanders*, and the Conſular Acts which he produces, do moſt manifeſtly contradict him. Who can hold his Sides from laughing? The firſt Argument we have received: Let us go on to the Second.

Phil. The ſecond is drawn from this Edict of *Henry* the Eighth, eſtabliſhed in full Parliament (25 *Hen.* 8. *cap.* 20) If any Archbiſhop, after the Receipt of the Royal Patents, does not Conſecrate the Perſon propoſed by the King, with all the due Circumſtances, within twenty Days, he ſhall incur the Penalty of *Præmunire*; that is, Forfeiture of Goods, and perpetual Impriſonment. Will any of the Intruders or Schiſmaticks hearken to this Conſular Decree?

Orth.

Orth. How sottishly does this Jesuit talk? For first, *Cranmer* was Consecrated before this Law; besides, this Law requires the Consecration to be perform'd with all its due Circumstances; and that, upon a grievous Penalty to be inflicted upon the Delinquents. But 'tis incumbent on the Jesuit to have proved, that *Cranmer* was intruded by King *Henry* without any Consecration at all. How do these hang together? Tell me, I pray, was *Fitz-Simon* in his Senses when he wrote this?

Phil. He adds a third Reason from a manifest Lye of yours.

Orth. Of mine?

Phil. 'Tis plainly so: For to prove *Cranmer* to be a Bishop, you make your Addition to the Words of *Parsons.*

Orth. Do you charge me with that? Certainly to prove him to be a Bishop, in that *English* Edition which he strikes at, I have not produc'd one Word from *Parsons.* Who therefore is the Lyer?

Phil. Appealing yet to *Parsons*, from his Writings you mention a Place in the Margin, which is nothing to the purpose.

Orth. I confess, there's an Error in the Number; For Part 3*d*, Page 340, is put for Part 1*st*, Page 230. Mistakes of this sort, either from the Transcripts, or from the Press, are so common, and easie to be committed, that in so great an Undertaking 'tis scarcely to be avoided. But the Words which I made use of in the Text, are most true and certain; and with that Place of *Parsons*, which in the Margin I was wil-

ling to shew, do admirably agree: For (as I have done just now) I have referr'd *Becan* to *Parsons*, his Colleague, asserting, that he openly confess'd, that *Cranmer* was a Bishop. What, was he not a Bishop? Does not *Parsons* clearly acknowledge it? I appeal to *Fitz-Simon* himself, my malevolent and ill-natur'd Adversary; and he shall be my Judge and Witness; 'But I give up (says he) to thee, and confess, that 'Cranmer was an Archbishop, as *Parsons* testifies in 'many Places: (See *Fitz. Brit.* 305.) Therefore you see, what I said, was true, that *Parsons* affirms, and *Fitz-Simon* acknowledges; except, by chance, one may be an Archbishop, who is not a Bishop; which no Man in his Wits ever dreamt of.

In the *Interim*, how neatly does the Jesuit plead the Jesuits Cause? *Becan* denies that *Cranmer* was ever consecrated by any Bishop; which is the same, as if he deny'd he was a Bishop. *Fitz-Simon*, willing to defend him, but not being able, wretchedly falls under his Burthen, and throws away his Buckler. *I*, (says he) *do yield* Cranmer *to be an Archbishop*: What therefore he was willing to deny, the Wretch affirms. Afterwards I prov'd by the Testimony of *Parsons*, that *Cranmer* was an Archbishop: This, *Fitz Simon*, with a Conscience reluctating, was willing to refel; but at length being conquer'd by Truth, he yields to the Testimony of *Parsons*, that *Cranmer* was an Archbishop; and so confirms what he endeavoured to confute. This Place therefore I have vindicated by the Testimony of an Adversary, from the Aspersion of a Lye.

Phil. Fitz-Simon does not labour so much from this Place, as from another, (*Edit. Ang. p.* 92,) on which he more insists, as well from the Words of *Parsons*, as your Additions.

These

Theſe are the Words of *Parſons* (3. *Con.* Part 3. 340.) *Amongſt the Saints of* Fox, *there is no Eremetick, or Monaſtick Life, no Solitude from the World or Women, neither in either Sex Virginity preferr'd; neither in truth are there any Biſhops, if their Ordination were diſcuſs'd.* Hitherto *Parſons:* For the next Words (to wit, *for beſides* Cranmer, *of all of them that were burnt, there was neither Biſhop nor Clerk,*) are not *Parſons's*; but (to uſe the Words of *Fitz-Simon,* Page 505.) *You, full of Fraud, have added.*

Orth. Fraud! Good Words: For why ſhould I uſe Fraud? For what Profit? Or what Gain would accrue to my Cauſe?

Phil. He ſays, you deſpiſe Simplicity and Candour, that from thence you may prove *Cranmer* to be a Biſhop.

Orth. How widely does he miſtake? For that was not debated there, but long before. For the Affair was finiſh'd and tranſacted, not by the Authority of *Parſons*, but of Two Popes, *Clement* the 7th, and *Paul* the 4th. Who is he that would cook up a Lye, when in ſo great a Light, to ſet up the Candle of *Parſons* at Noon-day? Who is he that patches up a Lye from the Words of *Parſons*, to prove, that from his fictitious Teſtimony, which he every where teſtifies from moſt clear Words? Here I want Wit and Sharpneſs in a Jeſuit. Theſe are too fooliſh, and puerile enough. 'Tis therefore manifeſt to me, that he produc'd the Teſtimony of *Parſons*, not with that View to prove the Epiſcopal Order of *Cranmer*. To what purpoſe therefore? The Jeſuit might learn that from the Title of the Chapter: For there it is *Concerning the Biſhops Conſecrated in King* Edward's *Reign.* Of theſe I enquire, whether you do think them Bi-

ſhops? 'tis anſwer'd, They were not; and to this end, the Words of *Parſons* are recited from me. For what? Are they not truly and appoſitely cited? Do they not directly prove what I would be at?

Phil. You have added an aſcititious Selvidge.

Orth. That Selvidge is not made of Sackcloth, but of Scarlet and Purple. For that which the Jeſuit calls a (*Limbus*) Selvidge, is not mine, but Cardinal *Allen*'s; and from whence it is apparent, how raſhly and precipitantly the Jeſuit, with full Mouth roaring out Lyes, ruſhes in upon me, when he underſtands not what, or of whom it was ſpoken.

Phil. If it be Cardinal *Allen*'s, why did you not put his Name?

Orth. Becauſe he was minded to conceal his Name But hereafter (Chapter 14, N. 2. of this Book) to clear this Place, I ſhall take care to name the Cardinal, and the Page of his Book; and ſhall put down in diſtinct Characters his very Words. But hitherto of the Lye.

Now, if we may ſuppoſe that Addition to *Parſons*, whether from thence the Jeſuit will conclude, that *Cranmer* was intruded into the Chair of *Canterbury* by *Henry* the Eighth, without Epiſcopal Ordination? But let theſe be enough of *Fitz-Simon*'s Defence of *Becan*, than which the Sun never ſaw a weaker; let us come to the Point.

And that I may begin at the Fountain-head, was not *Cranmer* a Prieſt according to the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*? I appeal to Pope *Clement* the 8th, who in his Book ſent to *Cranmer*, calls him *Maſter in Theology, Conſtituted in the Order of the Prieſthood*; (*Cranm. Reg. Fol.* 2.) Was he not Canonically an Elected

ected Bishop ? Yes, he is elected by a Faculty granted by the King to the Chapter of *Canterbury*, (Ant. *ant.* p. 327.) What more ? Do you require the Approbation of the Pope ? Here's the Bull of *Clement* the *7th*, to *Henry* the Eighth, *viz.* Clement *the Bishop* Henry *the Illustrious English King. We have made provision concerning the Person of our beloved Son*, Thomas *elect of* Canterbury. *Dated at* Bononia 1532, *the th of the Calends of* March, *and* 10*th Year of our* Pontificate, (Reg. Gran. Fol. 1.) Here's another to *Cranmer* himself, in these Words : Clemens, *Bishop, to our beloved Son* Thomas, *Elect of* Canterbury ; *By the Apostolical Authority, we have made provision for the aforesaid Church of* Canterbury, *and we have set thee over it.* (Ibid. p. 26.) But perhaps, did he do this as a private man ? Not so : The Pope in the Consistory was surrounded with the Purple Choir of resulgent Cardinals, as is apparent by the same Bulls : *By the Apostolical Authority, we have made provision for the aforesaid Church, by the Advice of our Brethren,* (eod.) But perhaps this was done, not that *Cranmer* had any Merit of his own, but because the Pope was afraid of the King. Hear, if you please, *Apollo* himself speaking from his *Trivit :* Clemens *the Bishop to* Henry *the Illustrious King of the* English. *Of the Person of our beloved* Thomas *Elect of* Canterbury, *for his great Merits received by Us and our Brerhren,* &c. You see how firm and Illustrious was this Promotion of *Cranmer*, which was done by and with the Consent of the King, by the Election of the Chapter, and the Provision of the Pope. But perhaps, *Cranmer* had a mind to be consecrated without Leave obtained first from the Pope. Behold here the Pope's Bull : *We grant a Faculty to thee, to chuse what Archbishop soever you please, living in Favour and Communion with the Apostolick See, two or three Bishops being called to assist, having the like Peace and Communion, that thou mayest receive the Gift*

of

of Consecration. Given at *Bononia* 1532, in the Tenth of our Pontificate.

Was not he, perhaps, entangled with Church-Censures, for which he might seem less fit to undertake so great a Dignity? This I do not find that he was accus'd of: But so it was: For behold your Vice-God dispelling all Clouds of this nature with his Breath.

Clemens (*ibid. Fol.* 2.) *to his beloved Son* Thomas Cranmer, *Archdeacon of* Taunton *in the Church of* Wells, *Master in Theology, Health. By the Tenor of these Presents, we absolve thee from all Censures Ecclesiastical, and Punishments of Excommunication, Suspension and Interdict, brought of right, or of any Man, upon any Occasion or Cause, if thou art any ways intangled,* &c. Given at *Bononia* 1532, the Ninth of *March.* Or perhaps, is he not Consecrated by a true Number of Bishops, as are requir'd by the *Diploma* of the Popes? The Time, and Persons, and the whole Process, are deposited in the very Archives, beyond all Exception: Of which, for your sake, I shall exhibit a short Synopsis *viz.*

Tho. Cranmer is Consecrated the 30*th* of *March* 1533, 24*th* of *Henry* 8. by { *John* of *Lincoln*, *John* of *Exeter*, *Henry* of *Asaph.*

Were, perhaps, the usual Rites in an Ecclesiastical manner, exhibited in this Consecration? *Sanders* (*de Schism.* 297,) plainly hints, after the Ejection of the *Roman* Pontiff, these Rites were as yet retained. How much more were they at this time in use, when the Pope was in full power?

Phil.

Phil. I do not deny (says *Kellison, in Replic. contra Sutton, p.* 30.) that *Cranmer* was rightly Ordained, because he received the Gift of Consecration from Catholick Bishops; and I confess, that he liv'd and dy'd true Bishop: Yet nevertheless perhaps he was not true and lawful Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Orth. Perhaps! Why so? From what strong Reason is that collected? *Kellison*'s Arguments, deduc'd from Simony, Perjury and Imposture, are nothing else but so many, which by and by will vanish as Smoke, when the Truth of History will shine forth.

In the *Interim*, that *Cranmer* was a true Archbishop, is so manifest, that nothing can be alledg'd against it: Which, although from the aforesaid is plain enough, I shall yet endeavour, for the sake of *Kellison*, to demonstrate more fully; and that from the express Testimony of Two Popes, *Clement* the 7*th* and *Paul* the 4*th*. *Clement*, in the Bull to *Henry* the 8*th*; 'By the Apostolical Authority, and with the Advice of our Brethren, we have provided, and have made him, (that is, *Cranmer*) Archbishop. And in the other Bull to *Cranmer* himself, 'We have set thee over the Church of *Canterbury* for Archbishop and Pastor.

What? Did *Clement* indulge him only the Name of an Archbishop? No, by no means; he was not so cruel: For it follows in the same Bull, 'By committing fully the Care and Administration of the Church (*viz. Canterbury*) to thee in Spirituals and Temporals. But perhaps the Bull, in which the Name of the Archbishop, and the Plenitude of Church power is contained, was wanting; yea, this was transmitted by *Clement*; 'Clement, Bishop, to his beloved Son *Thomas* of *Canterbury*.

(*Ibid.* 3)

(*Ibid. p.* 3.) 'The Pall it ſelf, taken from the Bo-
'dy of bleſſed *Peter*, by our venerable Brethren the
'Archbiſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *London*, w
'have appointed by our Nuntio to be aſſigned t
'thee, that the ſame Archbiſhop and Biſhop, or e
'ther of them, do aſſign that to thee, after thou ha
'receiv'd the Gift of Conſecration, *&c.* *Given*
'Bononia 1532, *the 5th of the Nones of* March.

The other moſt ſubſtantial Evidence, is *Paul* th
5th, who ſtiles *Tho. Cranmer*, formerly Archbiſhop
Canterbury, as well in the Commiſſional Bull, (Se
Fox's Acts and Monuments, 1930,) in which he ap
points the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely* his Legates
the Cauſe of *Cranmer*, as in the Bull of Proviſio
(See *Reg. Card.* Pool, p 2,) in which he promot
Cardinal *Pool* for Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Phil. Perhaps he honour'd *Cranmer* with this Tit
not that he was really Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; b
that he might be called ſuch, and be ſo vulgarly
eſteem'd.

Orth. Trifles! For *Paul*, by the Authority of S
Peter, commanded that *Cranmer* ſhould be degrad
from the Archiepiſcopal Dignity; which Thi
was publickly and ſolemnly done by the two Lega
of that Pope. In which Degradation, that which
chiefly memorable, is this, That altho' they depri
Ridley, *Hooper* and *Ferrar* of the Prieſthood, to whi
they were initiated in the Reign of *Henry*; not of t
Epiſcopal Honour, becauſe they were not eſteem
Biſhops in the Reign of *Edward*; Yet they dreſs
up *Cranmer* with all his Habits relating to the Pri
Biſhop and Archbiſhop; and immediately ſo fri
him, inveſted with all the Enſigns of Honour.
the mean while, whilſt theſe things were act
Cranmer thus addreſs'd himſelf to his Degrader
W

Who of you have a Pall, who ravage the Pall from me? To whom they answer'd, This was done by the Authority, delegated from the Pope of *Rome.*

Have you a Mind, O *Kellison*, that after these two Suns, I may shew you Stars shining in the *South*? The first is a Star of the first Magnitude, *viz.* Cardinal *Alen*; (*See Cath. Defence*) who plainly grants, that Cranmer was Archbishop. The second shall be, that Noble Jesuite *Parsons*, (See *Conv.* Part I. 208, 230.) one of the second Magnitude, who calls *Augustine* and *Cranmer*, the first and last of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*: And in another Place, he says, that *Cranmer* was the first of the Archbishops of *Canterbury* who apostatiz'd from the *Roman* Faith. To these I shall add a third, a Star of a less Magnitude, but one of Malignity sufficient, of a Saturnine Nature; placed, I think, in the Dragon's Tail, *viz. Fitz-Simon*, (*Britonomachia*, p. 306) whom I have already vanquished; and whom I have heard declaiming. I give up, says he, Cranmer to be Archbishop: Wherefore, that of *Kellison*, (perhaps he was not true and lawful Archbishop) is to be buried in Eternal Oblivion; for Cranmer, (whether *Kellison* will or no) to be acknowledg'd, not only for a Bishop, but so for the true and lawful Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Phil. Champney the Jesuit, (*p.* 369.) relates from an Anonymous Writer of Annals, wrote in *English*, and Printed in *London*; that Cranmer had a Fourfold Impediment respecting his Ordination, *viz.* Bigamy, actual Wedlock, Schism and Heresie, and thus concludes his Narration; 'From these things, says he, it manifestly appears, that Cranmer, when he was Consecrated Archbishop, was guilty of Bigamy, and Sacrilegious Wedlock, separated by Schism from the Pope and the Apostolick See, and

'at length was infected with the most Base and Sot-
'tish Heresie, which appoints the King to be the
'Head of the *English* Church." And a little after,
'This most flagitious Man, meaning CRANMER, has
'Crown'd his *Quadruple* Irregularity with a Nefari-
'ous *Perjury*.

Orth. Or rather, *Champney* does splendidly Crown this Book with Contumelious Curses. But here he lays Five Impediments to *Cranmer*'s Charge; Three of which, *viz. Perjury*, *Heresie*, and *Schism*, I shall not here Discourse of, but must leave them to another Opportunity; the remaining Two, which are proper in this Place, I shall here briefly touch: *First*, CRANMER is accused of Bigamy; but who is to be called a *Bigamist*? Whether he that has two Wives at one and the same time? A Man of this sort, I confess the Apostle repells from Sacred Orders; but what is this to *Cranmer*, who is clear from such an Accusation? Whether he, who having one Wife dead, should Marry again? This truly was *Cranmer*'s Case; but, is he upon that Account to be excluded from the Episcopate?

Phil. Why not? For the Canons and Laws Ecclesiastical exclude such a one. (See *Champ.* p. 370)

Orth. I answer *Champney*, objecting Canons in General thus; *First*, Those Canons that openly repugn the Sacred Canon, we reject. Other Canons agreeing with the Sacred Canon, we esteem. *2dly*, I am amazed at thee, *Champney*, to object against CRANMER those Canonical Impediments, which are accomplish'd by the Authority of the Pope, who from thine own Opinion is superior to all Canons, and who with his little Finger can dissipate a Thousand Obstacles of this sort. Art thou so bold to mutter

one Word of the Irregularity of him, whom for his Clemency, *Clement* VII. Pope of *Rome*, the Rule of all Rules, has made Regular? As *Neptune* with his *Trident* has dispelled the Clouds, so here, has not our *Jupiter Capitolinus* by his Authority, drove far way all Ecclesiastical Sentences, (as you have heard already) Censures, and Penalties, brought by any one upon any occasion against CRANMER?

Phil. Bigamists are excluded from the Priesthood, not only by the Laws of the Church, but also by those of the Apostles, (*Champ. eod.*) *The Bishop is to be the Husband of one Wife*, 1 Tim. 3. 2. Tit. 1. 5.

Orth. The Genuine Opinion of the Apostle seems to be this, which St. *Hierome* commemorates in his Epistle to *Oceanus*, in these Words; 'The Apostle came from the *Jews*; The first *Church* of Christ was collected from the *Remains* of *Israel*. He knew it was a Concession from the Law, and from the Example of the *Patriarchs* and *Moses*, that the People should have Children from many Wives. The very Priests also, took the same Liberty. Therefore he commands, that the Priests of the Church should not assume the same License, to have Two or Three Wives at once, but that every one should have one Wife at one time.

Phil. This Interpretation may be destroyed by many Reasons; the first shall be brought from the Place: For St. *Paul* writes these things to *Timothy* and *Titus*, who were Bishops, the one of *Ephesus*, the other of *Crete*; *But, says* Baronius, *we do not find, that either* the Cretians, *or* Ephesians, *or their Neighbours, were ever* Polygamists.

Orth. St. *Paul* was willing to inſtruct in his Epiſtles, wrote to *Timothy* and *Titus*, not only thoſe their Succeſſors, the Biſhops of *Epheſus* and *Crete*, but all that ſhould be Biſhops throughout the World, whether they came from the *Gentiles* or the *Jews*. Wherefore, if in any Part of the World this Cuſtom aroſe; it was juſt, that the Apoſtle ſhould admoniſh what ſhould be done in this Caſe; altho' neither the *Cretians* or *Epheſians* were defiled with that Vice.

Phil. The ſecond Reaſon is fetch'd from the Time, for as much as at that Time (as *Bellarmin* ſays rightly, *Bell. de Clero*, c. 23.) 'There was no Cuſtom, either 'among the *Jews* or *Gentiles*, and much leſs among 'the *Chriſtians*, that one Man ſhould have two 'Wives together;' ſince it was not done, why ſhould it be prohibited?

Orth. Here's one Cardinal againſt another, *Baronius* contradicting *Bellarmin*, for ſo he writes, 'Of 'the *Jews*, I do not deny, in thoſe times alſo, it was 'the Cuſtom, that ſome of them had many Wives 'at one time;' for *Joſephus* is a Witneſs, (*Ant.* 17. *Cap.* 1.) ſaying, *Our Country Cuſtom is to have many Wives together.* But alſo *Juſtin Martyr* (in *Dialogue* with *Tryph.*) ſays, *'Twould be better for us to follow God, than your fooliſh and blind Rabbies, who at this very Day permit every one to have Four and Five Wives.* Such *Digamiſts*, *Trigamiſts*, and *Polygamiſts*, who at that ſame time had many Wives, and thoſe only the Apoſtle excludes from the *Epiſcopal* Dignity: For he who after the Death of the firſt Wife, ſhould be joyned to another, by the Honourable Bond of Matrimony, is as yet the Husband of one Wife, and for that Cauſe, on his Part is irreprehenſible.

Phil.

Phil. 'From the same Phrase, says *Bellarmin*, and in the same Epistle, and from the same Apostle, a Bishop is commanded to be the Husband of one Wife; and the Widow to be the Wife of one Husband, (1 *Tim.* 5. 9.) But there is no Reason, that St. *Paul* should command, that a Widow should not be Elected, who had been the Wife of many Husbands at the same time; for St. *Paul*'s Command would have been in vain, when there was no Custom, that one Woman should be the Wife of many Husbands.

Orth. That this was sometime the Custom, you may collect from the Words of our blessed Lord, (*Mat.* 19. 9. 5. 27.) *Whosoever shall put away his Wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth Adultery; and whoso marrieth her which is put away, doth commit Adultery.* Sometimes therefore, it happen'd, that a Woman dismiss'd and repudiated by her, except for the Case of Fornication, should be married by another. But a Woman of this sort, hastning to her second *Nuptials*, became the Wife of two Husbands together, the first *de jure*, the second *de facto*. The Apostle therefore teaches, that these Women, if they are Widows, should not be enroll'd among Ecclesiastical Widows, as *Theodoret* and *Theophylact* expound the Place. After the same manner he removes and excludes Men from the Episcopal Order; who (the Band of former Marriage continuing) do hasten to second Nuptials. Hitherto of the Apostolick Phrase. Now let's view the Matter it self. 'The Woman, (says St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 2. 7.) if the Husband be dead, is free from the Law of her Husband.' And again, (1 *Cor.* 7. 29.) 'That if her Husband be dead, she is free to marry any one, only in the Lord.' From hence, it is manifest, that the Conjugal Knot is

broken

broken by Death: For a Wife defunct, is no Wife. The Relate, indeed, cannot be without its Correlate. The Husband, therefore, upon the Death of the Wife, ceases to be a Husband; and by consequence is the Husband of no Wife. But if he enters a New Nuptial Covenant with another, he's made again the Husband of One Wife, *viz.* of the Latter, not of the Former; for the Former *Vinculum* or Bond is rescinded by Death. Whosoever therefore, is the Husband of one Wife, the same *cæteris paribus*, is admitted by the Apostle to the Episcopate. Wherefore he, who takes to him another, upon the Death of the Former *cæteris paribus*, may be advanced into the Catalogue of Bishops. This Reason, founded on the Scripture seem'd so Potent to *Theodoret*, that when he had met with the same amongst some of the Ancient Fathers he immediately fell into their *Opinion*.

Phil. Our *English-Rhemes* Gentlemen declare, that the Apostle here exhibits, that no one married again or *Bigamist*, should be admitted to Holy *Orders*. (*Anglo-Rhe.* in 1 *Tim.* 3.) and that this Exposition is conformable to the Doctrine of all the Fathers, without any Exception.

Orth. Of all Fathers, without any Exception. Here *Bellarmin* (*de Cler.* c. 23.) shews, your *Anglo-Rhemish* Brethren to be fallacious, who openly professes, That we have *Theodoret* on our Side, Patronizing our Opinion. For his Words are so clear and perlucid, that *Bellarmin* himself, with all his Eloquence cannot darken their Splendor, But 'tis worth the while to subjoin them; (*Theod.* in 1 *Tim.* 3.) 'Neither the *Grecks* nor *Jews* did admit of, or exercise Virginity; because at that time, they could not easily be found, which used Chastity; of those who had married, he gives it in Command to ordain

'those

those who honoured Temperance. For some seemed to me, rightly to stile him the Husband of one Wife. For formerly, it was the Custom, both of *Jews* and *Greeks*, by their Law of Matrimony, to have Two, Three, or more Wives, at one and the same Time. And also now, since the Imperial Laws forbid *Bigamy*, they will be concern'd with *Whores* and *Concubines*. They have therefore said, that the Divine Apostle has declared, that he, who cohabits Modestly with only One Wife, shall be worthy to be Ordained by the Bishop. For he, (say they) who hath often commanded it to be done, doth not reject Second Nuptials: For the Woman (says St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 39.) is tyed by the Law, so long as her Husband liveth; but when he is dead, she is free to marry, whom she will, only in the Lord. And again, but I speak to the Unmarried, and Widows, and both Orders being joyned, it constitutes one Law. But in Truth, if a Vow of Continency be made, Second Nuptials are not in the Power of the Will. For if he, his former Wife being expell'd, should be joined to another; such a one is worthy to be reprehended, and by Right, is obnoxious to Accusation: But if the Power of Death takes away the Former, and urgent Nature should compel him to marry again, second Marriage proceeded, not from the Will, but from Chance. Considering these things, I admit of their Interpretation, who have so understood it.' Hitherto of *Theodoret*.

Phil. I freely confess, that *Theodoret* is on your Side; but he alone, for so says *Bellarmin*, (*de Cle. c.* 23.) 'As far as I have read, of all the Ancient Fathers, 'there is only *Theodoret*, who, by the Husband of One 'Wife, understands, him who hath not Two or 'more Wives at the same Time; for so is his Expo-

'sition

'sition in his Commentary on the Third Chapter o
'the First Epistle to *Timothy*.' But, his Authority i
not of such Value, as to be preferred to so many Ho
ly Popes, and all the other Ancient Fathers.

Orth. To all Others? It is here manifest from *Theodoret*, (who confesses, that he followed the Inter
pretation of some; which Interpretation, was ho
nestly founded on Sacred Writ, and Reasons;) tha
Bellarmin was deceived. With *Theodoret*, perhaps the Word *Dixerunt*, they said, does hint, that it wa
the frequent Opinion of Commentators. But if you please, hear St. *Hierome*, (in *Titus*, *Cap.* 1.) 'Some
'says he, think so of this Place. It was (say they) a
'*Jewish* Custom, to have Two, or more Wives;
'what also we read in the Old Testament of *Abra
'ham* and *Jacob*. And they will have it, that 'tis
'now a Command, that he, that is to be elected a
'Bishop, should not have Two Wives at once.' S
some think, not only therefore *Theodoret*, but before him some, I wish St. *Hierome* had let us know thei
Names; for since he was a Man of immense Reading, it is credible, that One could have Named more, whose Works have not all come to our Hands. And he also, altho' he was a Marriage-Hater, seem'd to have favour'd this Opinion; which he twice Commemorates, once to *Oceanus*, and another time, in his Comment on the Epistle to *Titus*. 'More
'over, St. *Chrysostome* (in that Place, 1 *Tim. Cap.* 3.) is
'with us, so expounding this Place.' He does not say this, as a Sanction, as if it was not Lawful to be made a Bishop without a Wife, but constituting the *Modus* of the Matter. Because, it was Lawful for the *Jews* to be joyned in a Second Wedlock, and to have Two Wives, at one and the same Time.

Phil.

Phil. What he may understand by Second Marriage, St. *Chrysostome*, in the same Work, sufficiently shews; saying, *St.* Paul *in this Place chastiseth the immodest, whilst he does not permit them after Second Nuptials, to be assumed to the Regimen and Dignity of the Church: For he, who is discovered to throw off all Benevolence to his Wife Defunct, how can he be the best* Præceptor *of the Church?* Where it most plainly appears, that he, by *St. Paul* is to be called the Husband of One Wife, who after the Death of the First, did not marry a Second.

Orth. The Word Ἀπολύσασα, used by St. *Chrysostome*, does not necessarily signifie Dead, or Defunct, unless something else was added; as ἀπολύειν τῷ βίῳ, *To die.* But here, without any Addition, it is simply put, and signifies a Departing or Separation. For Wives, unwillingly and compelled, were wont to Depart from their Husbands, *viz.* having received a Bill of Divorce; and sometimes of their own Accord, as the Apostle saith, (1 *Cor.* 7. 10, 11.) *Those that are joined in Marriage, I command, yet not I, but the Lord; let not the Wife depart from her Husband; but if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her Husband.* St. *Chrysostome* here understands Separations of this sort, but such as are made by Death; which is evinced by a two fold Reason. 1*st.* Because the Apostle in this Place does chastise the Immodest. But he, who having his Wife Defunct, marries the Second in the Lord, is not, as the Lord witnesseth, upon that account Immodest; for without doubt, that is not acted in the Lord, which is acted Immodestly. But Marriage is Honourable. (*Heb.* 13. 4.) The Holy Spirit does not say, the First Marriage, as if he would exclude the Second, or Third; but simply Marriage: Nor does it signifie, whether the First,

Second, or Third Marriage, becauſe every True and Legitimate Marriage is Honourable. Hence St. *Auguſtine*, That if the Firſt Husband is dead; the Apoſtle does not ſay the Firſt, Second, or Fourth, nor muſt we define what the Apoſtle has not. Neither ought I to condemn any Marriages, whether One or more.

They therefore, that contract Second Marriages in the Lord, are not Immodeſt, becauſe they Contract; but they therefore contract, leſt they ſhould be Immodeſt.

Do not object that Imperfect Work on St. *Matthew*, aſcribed to St *Chryſoſtome*, which is with ſo much Diſdain rejected by *Bellarmin*, (*de Verbo dei*, 4, 11.) and *Baronius*. (An. 407. N. 11.) 2*dly*. St. *Chryſoſtome* glances at thoſe, who are diſcover'd not to obſerve Benevolence towards their Wives; becauſe, it cannot be ſaid of thoſe, who having buried the Firſt Wife, marry a Second; theſe therefore he does not reprehend, but thoſe only, who have Two at once. In this Cauſe, *Chryſoſtome* alſo is on our Side.

Phil. The Cuſtom and Practice of the whole Church is againſt this; the Expoſition of that Place of St. *Paul*. (*Anglo-Rhe.* in 1 *Tim.* 3.)

Orth. Say you ſo? Let us therefore conſult St. *Hierome* (Epiſt. 83.) Carterius *Biſhop of* Spain, *a Perſon, both in Age and Prieſthood, had One Wife before Baptiſm, and the Firſt being dead, had another after.* And do you think, that he acted againſt the Opinion of the Apoſtle; who, in the Catalogue of Virtues, commands, that the Husband of One Wife ſhould be Ordained a Biſhop? But, I wonder that you ſhould mention this, when the whole World is full of ſuch Ordinations; I do not ſpeak of Prieſts, or of the Inferior Order; I come to Biſhops; which, if I ſhould

should Name distinctly every one, they would exceed the Number of the Council of *Ariminum*. Behold, the whole World abounds with Bishops, who successively married Two Wives.

Phil. I confess, many Contracted twice; But one before Baptism, the other after?

Orth. It is even so. *Baptism* does not dissolve Wedlock, neither is it to be doubted, that the Marriages of the *Pagans* are true Marriages. Wherefore, a Person who had married successively twice, one before, the other after, might ascend the Episcopal Throne; no sufficient Reason can be given, why it should not be Lawful, for One that marries twice after Baptism? But the first is defended by *Hierome*, and Twenty three of the Bishops of *Macedonia*, as *Innocent* reckons, are of the same Opinion.

Phil. Hierome, 'tis true, defends the Ordination of these Men; but he accounts them not *Bigamists*. *Innocent*, *Ambrose*, and *Augustine*, will have them *Bigamists*, but do not defend their *Ordinations*.

Orth. If he is to be called a *Bigamist*, who after his first Wife is dead, should marry another, 'tis most manifest, that they were all *Bigamists*: Of which sort of Men, infinite Bishops were every where created. But, if your Opinion is otherwise, tell me, at least, for what Cause they should be repelled from that Honour?

Phil. I answer with *Bellarmin*, (*de Cler. c.* 24.) *The Reason is partly Moral, partly Mystical: The Moral is manifold, the First is a less Suspicion of Incontinency, or the more perfect Continency.*

Orth. He, who marries a Lawful Wife, has a Remedy appointed by Divine Command for Incontinency; he truly, if we reason rightly, in this very Matter, removes farther from him all Suspicion of Incontinency.

Phil. By how much, he who marries more Wives altho' successively, by so much he affords greater Symptoms of a Mind less Continent.

Orth. In the first, hear St. *Hierome*, (in *Epist. ad Titum, Cap.* 1.) *We ought to understand, the Husband of One Wife, that we do not think every* Monogamist, *to be better than a* Digamist, *&c.* Suppose some Young Man to have lost his Wife, and overcome by Carnal Necessity, to have taken a Second, which presently he loses, and afterwards lives Continently; another to be married, and to have the Use of his Wife, even to Old Age; and as many esteem it, a Felicity, never to have abstain'd from Carnal Embraces; which of these Two seems to be better, seeing Felicity, rather than Will, is elected in him?

Secondly, If a *Digamist* should give a greater Suspicion of Incontinency than a *Monogamist*; whether therefore, is he to be rejected from the Episcopal Order? It does not follow; for, I believe, a *Monogamist*, from your Opinion, gives a greater Suspicion of Incontinence, than an *Agamist*; (one never married) whom yet, you repel not from the Episcopate. But neither of these, is truly and properly to be accounted Incontinent; after, by the Medicine prescribed by God, he hath vanquish'd the Disease of Incontinence; for then their Beds are esteemed before God Immaculate, their Condition Honourable; and their Society, as well of Temperance, as Chastity, is to be celebrated with Praise. (*Heb.* 13. *Titus* 2, 3.)

Phil. 2*dly*, A Biſhop ought to be a *Monogamiſt*, not a *Digamiſt*; by which more freely, he may exhort Monogamy and Continency; his Example, is to be preferr'd to his Preaching.

Orth. If this Reaſon is ſimply neceſſary, a Single Man ought to be a Biſhop, and not a *Monogamiſt*, that he more freely may exhort to Celibacy. But alſo, the *Digamiſt*, who hath married twice ſucceſſively, by his Example may exhort to Continency, ſeeing himſelf is Continent. For that Noble Confeſſor *Paphnutius*, in the Council of *Nice*, moſt truly call'd Converſation of Husbands with their Wives, *Continence.*

Phil. The Third Moral Reaſon, is taken from the Excellency of the Prieſthood; and this is the Reaſon of *Epiphanius.* (*Her.* 59)

Orth. The Excellency of the Prieſthood, requires pure Prieſts, and Immaculate from every Spot: But this is no Impediment, but that *Digamiſts*, of whom we ſpeak, may be admitted to this Honour. For you have heard, that all Lawful Matrimony is Immaculate and Honourable, whether it be Firſt or Second; according to that of St. *Auguſtine*, *I ought to condemn no Marriages, whether One or more.* But of the Cauſe and Moral Reaſon, more than enough. Now I expect the Myſtical.

Phil. The other Myſtical Cauſe, is the perfect ſignification of the Marriage of Chriſt with his Church; (*Bell. de Cler* C. 24) *For he, who marries a Second Wife, ſignifies indeed the Marriage of Chriſt with his Marriage; but not ſo perfectly, as he who hath only One Wife; for, it ſignifies Chriſt to be the One Spouſe of the One*

One Church. Wherefore, the Nuptials of Digamists, *want some Perfection of Signification, which the Nuptials of* Monagamists *have.*

Orth. If this Perfection of Signification is so very necessary, that the Defects of it can exclude from the Episcopate, all single Men are altogether excluded; which is very absurd, and highly dangerous to the Stews of the *Roman Agamists.*

Phil. Since Christ is both the Virgin, and the Spouse of the Church; if a Bishop be married, he will represent the Marriage of Christ; if a Virgin, Christ a Virgin; so that the former Defect, *viz.* that it does not represent the Marriage of Christ, is made up by this Excellent Signification.

Orth. If either this or that Perfection of Signification, be so absolutely necessary in him that is to be ordained a Bishop; what do you say of a *Monogamist*, who hath formerly got Children, although his Wife was dead? You will not deny him, who was destitute of either Perfection of Signification, to be promoted to a Bishoprick; he gat Children, therefore he has no Reference to Christ a Virgin; he had no Wife, therefore he does not represent the Marage of Christ with his Church. But why do you equally argue, and say, that Second Marriages mystically signifie the Church of the *Gentiles*, as the First of the *Jews*. But these little Reasons, which the Wit of Man has invented, are probable Quirks, and not firm and solid Demonstrations. And see, I pray, by what Steps these Trifles of Witlings are advanced. Some not only drive away the *Digamist*, but also the *Monagamist* from the Episcopate, if she of late, whom he had married, had been a Widow: Others deny entrance to these Men, not only to Holy Orders,

ers, but also to the Subdeaconship; of which the oly Scripture makes no mention. Others, as yet oing further, not only interdict Second Nuptials to ose that are to be promoted to the Sacred Ministry; t leaning on the same Foundations, also Laicks, at is, all other Men altogether. Of which St. *Ber-rd* elegantly speaks, (in *Cent. Ser.* 66.) *A Woman, as ng as her Husband liveth, is tyed to her Husband; but if r Husband be dead, she is loosed from the Law of her Hus-nd; she may marry whom she pleases, only in the Lord.* is *Paul*, which gives this Concession to the Widow, marry whom she pleases; and then, on the con-ary, Commands, no Woman besides a Virgin may arry, and she is obliged on Condition, not to marry hom she pleases.

Why do you shorten the Hand of God? Why do ou restrain the ample Benediction of Nuptials? What Property do you claim to a Virgin, which is ndulged to the Sex? St. *Paul* wou'd not have granted, ad it not been Lawful; I say little, he grants it, he lso Wills it: *I will*, says he, *that the younger Women arry*; and there is no doubt, but he calls them Widows. What's more manifest? Therefore he grants because 'tis Lawful; he also Wills it, because is Expedient. What is Lawful and Expedient, the Heretick forbids. Nothing will come from this Pro-ibition, unless, that he is a Heretick. He therefore a Heretick, that forbids Second Marriages, to her o whom the First were Lawful. But hitherto of *Bi-amy*. Now to treat of actual *Wedlock*.

Phil. Champney glances at Cranmer's Marriage in double Capacity, because it was Actual; 2*dly*, Be-cause it was Sacrilegious. For he was not only a *Bigamist*, as marrying before Two Wives, but now, when he was Ordained Bishop, he was actually a Husband.

Orth.

Orth. Hey day! *Champney*, who art thou, that dar'ſt fly in the Face of the Apoſtle, the Doctor of the *Gentiles*? For he, in ſpeaking of the Promotion of a Biſhop, thus ſays, (*Tit.* 1. 5.) *If he be blameleſs, the Husband of one Wife.* St. *Paul* does not ſay, *if any hath been*, but *if any is*, in the preſent Tenſe; that is, If any one actually is the Husband of One Wife. The Apoſtle therefore teaches, that ſuch a One is capable of being promoted to the Epiſcopate, notwithſtanding he's actually Married. Whoſoever upon that Cauſe, debars a conjugated Perſon from the Epiſcopate, he openly contradicts both the Apoſtle and the Holy Spirit.

St. *Chryſoſtome*, excellently well elucidates this Place, in theſe Words; *He intends, effectually to ſtop the Mouths of Hereticks, who condemn Nuptials, ſhewing the Matter to be blameleſs; yea, it is in ſo great eſteem, that any married Perſon may be promoted to the Epiſcopal Throne.* Your *Champney* may ſee, whether he is not to be repoſed in the Roll of Hereticks, by which the Apoſtle, (as ſays *Chryſoſtome*) with theſe Words ſtops the Mouths of Hereticks.

Phil. Come on then, a married Perſon may aſcend the Epiſcopal Throne; but upon this Condition, that after the ſuſception of Holy Orders, he ſhould ceaſe from his Conjugal Office. But CRANMER, being made a Biſhop, had Converſation and Commerce with his Wife; which by the Apoſtle, was accounted unlawful, for thus he writes; (*Titus* 2. 8. *Bell. de Cler.* 19.) *It behoves a Biſhop to be hoſpitable, liberal, ſober, juſt, honeſt, continent. Where 'tis to be noted,* (ſays Bellarmin) *that what we call Sober, in the Greek 'tis* σώφρονα; *which, as St.* Hierome *ſays on the Place, is ambiguous, and may ſignifie prudent, ſober, chaſte. For in this Place it ſignifies Chaſte, becauſe Chaſtity is common to married Perſons: The Apoſtle*

Apostle also adds, Continent, which St. Hierome *in that place, expounds from the Embraces of the Wife.*

Orth. There is no Reason, why we should render the Word σωφρονα *Chaste*, rather with St. *Hierome*; than *sober* with the Old Interpreters. That also is Conjugal Continence, and in a peculiar manner; which, the Apostle testifies, is from mutual Consent, and for a time.

Whoso *Phil. Labour* (says the Apostle, 2 *Tim.* 2. 4) *as a good Soldier of Jesus Christ.* No Man fighting for God, entangles himself with Secular Affairs. Here the Apostle commands, says *Bellarmine*, that he may strenuously warfare for God; and afterwards says, he cannot well militate for God, if he entangles himself with Secular Affairs. No Man can deny, that Nuptials are of the same nature.

Orth. He who hath the Gift, wants not otherwise the holy Aid, (for the most just Reasons of Wedlock are various, and various are the Uses of this holy Bond) may act wisely if he abstains from Marriage: or so he will free himself from many Troubles. But the Comparison of Warfare is not to the Point, since we have the Testimony of God himself, (*Deut.* 34. that married Men are fit for Warfare. But he who uses rightly the Means appointed by God, and yet conceives the Flames, and Motions of Desire, lest he should be polluted, may use the means granted by Heaven: For to whom God denies the Gift, him he calls to Nuptials; and tho' Nuptials have their Care and Solitude, yet to this Man they confer great Good; so that now the Married may far better militate for the Lord, than before, when not without the peril of Debauchery, he burns with the Ebullitions of Lust. Wherefore if all things were weighed in a

true Balance, he by marrying clears himself from more Troubles, than he was incumber'd with. And to say all in one word, 'Tis more satisfaction to be saved in an Inferiour Good, than to run the hazard in the Chiefest.

Phil. The same Apostle (1 *Cor.* 7, 5, *Bellarmine eodem loco*) commands a Vacation to the Married, by consent, for a time, from Nuptial Enjoyments, that they may give themselves to Prayer; from which by good consequence, St. *Hierome* deduces, that St. Paul commands Bishops, and others in holy Orders, to abstain perpetually from Nuptial Embraces, since they ought daily to give themselves up to Prayer. The same Argument is used by *Origen* (*Hom.* 3. in *Num*) and *Epiphanius*, in *Hær. Catharorum.*

Orth. The Apostle in the Place recited understands Solemn Prayer, joined with Fasting; as is plain from the Words [to give themselves to Fasting and Prayer.] For such Prayer is not daily, but at stated times; Therefore married Persons, whether Laicks or Clerks, may separate for a time, that they be at leisure for Piety; and the conjugal Duty must give way for this Season, to Fasting and Prayer; but upon this condition, that after, they come together and give due Benevolence, lest they should be tempted of Satan.

Phil. 'Tis the Apostle's Exhortation (1 *Cor.* 7. 35) that we should serve the Lord without Distraction. But Wedlock is a mighty Impediment to Ecclesiastick Gifts, *viz.* to Prayer, Reading, Preaching, to Pastoral Care, to the Care of the Poor, to Administration of the Sacraments; as *Bellarmine* shews (*de Cler. l.* 1. c. 27.) For he that marrieth, careth for the Things of the World, as the Apostle testifies, *V.* 35.

Orth.

Orth. Not only the Clergy, but all the Faithful entirely, from the Opinion of the Apostle, are commanded to adhere to the Lord, without distinction. What then? Is none of the Faithful to be married? I don't see the Consequence. For the Apostle is willing that his Words should be understood of the Profits of Celibacy, and Discommodities of Marriage, not to impose upon any the Necessity of abstaining from Wedlock; not to lay a Snare, (1 *Cor.* 7. 35.) but to admonish what should conduce to our Profit. He that has the Gift, should not marry, by which he more strictly may adhere to the Lord, and not be distracted by the Cares of the World. If he has not the Gift, 'twill be much better (hear the Apostle) to marry than to burn: Difficulties and Troubles on both sides beset this Man. If he marries, he will be troubled with Cares of the World, and will be exposed to the Flames of Lust; from hence is the Distraction; but that which proceeds from Lust, goes deeper in the Veins, and is more ardent and flagrant, and is more incited by Satan, to break out into Fornication, and is far more dangerous and troublesome, and more withdraws him from the Lord: Wherefore 'tis more commodious and expedient for this Man to marry.

Phil. In the Old Testament, (See *Bellarm. de Cler.* 19.) we see Continency from Wives to be chiefly requisite in those who approach to God, or those who were to handle any holy Business. For it is commanded, (*Exod.* 12) that those who were to eat the Paschal Lamb, were to gird up the Reins; by which it was signified, as *Gregory* expounds it, (*Hom.* 22. *in Evang.*) that those ought to tame the Pleasure of the Flesh who eat the Paschal Lamb.

Orth. This Reason is very feeble. For first, this Continency is commanded to the *Israelites* of all Conditions; who yet when the time was over, returned to their Wives, and did do the Duty of Marriage.

Secondly, None under the Law could be a Priest, except the Son of a Priest. God forbid that he should for ever interdict the Conjugal Duty to his Priests, who approach to his Divine Majesty.

Phil. When the People were about to receive the Law from God, (See *Bell. eodem loco*, *Exod.* 19,) *Moses* saith unto them, Be ready against the third Day, and don't approach your Wives: Which Testimony St. *Ambrose* uses to prove the Continency of the Clergy, *Lib.* 1. *de Offic. c. ult.*

Orth. This Precept did not restrain the First born alone, who were then Priests; but all the People of *Israel*, who nevertheless after, had Commerce with their Wives. Altho' a singular Piety may be requir'd in Ministers, as well Levitical as Evangelical; yet a perpetual Celibacy, as absolutely necessary, cannot hence be deduc'd, not more from one than the other.

Phil. God commanded (*Bellarmine eodem loco*) That *Aaron* and his Sons (when they enter'd the Tabernacle) should be cover'd with Linnen Garments, from the Reins to the Thighs, (*Exodus* 28) Which, as *Bede* (*Lib.* 3, *de Tabern. c.* 9) expounds it, signifies that the Priests of the New Testament ought to be Virgins, or to dissolve the Marriages contracted with their Wives.

Orth.

Orth. Symbolical Divinity is not Argumentative.

Phil. *Ahimelech*, (*Bellarmine loco citato in* 1 *Sam.* 21.) could not deliver the Hallowed or Shew-Bread to *David* to eat, except he was first assur'd, that he had abstained from his Wife; from which St. *Hierome* (*ad Titum cap.* 1) deduces, that a perpetual Continence is required, even from their Wives, in Priests, who eat the Body of Christ, by which the Shew-bread was signified, and to deliver it to others.

Orth. *David* (1 *Sam.* 25) a little after took another Wife: But St. *Hierome*'s Deduction is not of absolute necessity. He that can perpetually abstain, may; he that cannot, may in due time return to his Wife, lest he be tempted by Satan.

Phil. From the First Book of *Chronicles*, and from the First Chapter of St. *Luke*, 'tis collected, (*Bellarmine eodem loco*) that the Priests of the Old Testament were wont to minister in their Courses; and in all that time that they ministred in the Tabernacle, they were absent both from House and Wife. From which *Siricius*, *Innocent* the First, and *Bede*, That if they in the time of Ministration abstained from their Wives, it is very decent that our Priests, who do not by turns, but always minister, should always abstain from their Wives.

Orth. The Levitical Priests were obliged (*Exod.* 30. 41.) by virtue of their Consecration, to minister to the Lord in the Sacerdotal Office; but the Courses were instituted in King *David*'s time, (1 *Chron.* 24, 3) and the Ministers of the Gospel are also sanctified to minister to the *Jehovah* in the Word and Sacraments, altho' they were not distributed into Classes as

the

the Levites were. But what then? Shall they a ways ſolemnly miniſter? as truly as the other Chri ſtians, according to the Command of St. *Paul*, d always pray? But the Chriſtians do not always ac tually pray, neither do the Evangelick Preachers a ways actually adminiſter, nor always baptize, n always actually preach, nor always celebrate th Lord's Supper; but ſome Interval ſometimes interpo ſes. Altho' all Chriſtians, even Laicks, ought a ways to pray in Affection; yet this does not take a way the Conjugal Duties of all Laicks.

After the ſame manner, the Evangelick Miniſter are oblig'd to adminiſter by Affection, which n vertheleſs does not exclude marital Commerce, whic the Apoſtle commands.

From what I have ſaid, 'tis manifeſt, what *Bella mine* ſays, is falſe, That perpetual Celibacy was an nexed to Holy Orders by Right Apoſtolick. *Gra an* is righter by far, That the Sacerdotal *Copula* is n prohibited by either Legal, or Evangelical, or Apo ſtolical Authority; but only by Law Eccleſiaſtical And Cardinal *Cajetan* (*Tom.* 1. *Tract* 27) has thes Words: 'It is not proved by Reaſon or Authority 'that, abſolutely ſpeaking, the Sacerdotal Order, ei 'ther in as much as 'tis an Order, or as 'tis Holy, i 'impeded by Matrimony, whether before or after('Laws being ſecluded) by ſtanding only to thoſe 'which were made by Chriſt and his Apoſtles. An *Claudius Eſpencæus* thus: 'They report that *Æneas Silvius*, Pope *Pius* the Second, conſidering the Yoke 'of Celibacy annex'd to the Sacerdotal State, wa 'not from Nature or Scripture-Authority; but ei 'ther from the Vow of every one, or the Statute o 'the Church, not the Univerſal, but only the La 'tin; but the Fire every where burns, not leſs a 'mong the *Latins* than the *Greeks*: And it was a wonte 'Saying, that Marriage was with great reaſon taken a 'way

way from the Priests, but with greater reason should be restored, (*Lib.* 1. *de Continentiâ*, *C.* 13.)

Phil. But the Church-Canons prohibit Priests the cohabitation of their Wives.

Orth. The modern Canons of the *Roman* Church not only oppose the Sacred Canon of Scripture; but also the Ancient Canons of the Church. And first, we meet with an Old Canon, which is called *Apostolical*, (*Can.* 6.) 'A Bishop or Priest may not cast off his own Wife, on pretext of Religion; if he does, let him be Excommunicated; But if he perseveres, let him be Deposed. The late Learned Dr. *Howel* has this Remark on this Canon; 'From the Words of this Canon, nothing is more certain, nothing is more clear, than that in those Times these Canons were made, Bishops, Priests and Deacons were married: In expounding this Canon, we follow the Sixth General Synod.

Phil. I could give you the Opinion of *Binius* upon this Place.

Orth. 'Tis needless: For my Answers would be only reiterated: I have, I think, said enough of CRANMER's Actual Wedlock. Let us enquire in what sence *Champney* makes it Sacrilegious.

Phil. I think, upon a twofold account, to wit, either in respect of himself, or of the Vow; first, in respect of himself; as, the Wedlock of Priests is called by *Gregory Martin* (*Detect.* 15,12,11,) the Pollution of Holy Orders.

Orth.

Orth. Is it ſo, O thou foul Mouth? Has God pa
ſed ſuch a Cenſure on the ſacred Levitical O
der?

Phil. And *Bellarmine* (*de Cler. C.* 19) calls it *Sac
lege.*

Orth. In this very matter he is ſacrilegious, wh
durſt ſo blaſphemouſly invade the Divine Inſtitutes
the Sacred Law. But if the Marriage of Prieſts
ſuch as you preach, why does the *Roman* Churc
permit the *Greek* Clergy the Uſe of their Wives th
married before Ordination? For *Bellarmine* confeſſ
a Permiſſion. Has he a mind to permit a Pollutio
and Sacrilege? But, Good God, whither hath H
man or rather Demoniack Wit, carried him?

The Holy Spirit (as you have already heard)
avoid the Danger of Fornication, grants every on
a Wife; and admoniſhes to render them due Bene
volence, preaches up Marriage as honourable amon
all Men, and calls it Immaculate. And is it credibl
that ſuch a ſort of Men ſhould ariſe, who can nam
Holy Matrimony a Pollution and Sacrilege? Wh
is this but the Doctrine of Devils? 1 *Tim.* 4.1,3.

Phil. If CRANMER's Marriage was not ſacrilegio
by reaſon of himſelf, 'twas at leaſt by reaſon of h
Vow. *Vow and give to the Lord*, Pſalm 76. 12.

Orth. This is to be underſtood of pious Vows
for God forbids that Vows ſhould be Bonds of Iniqui
ty.

Phil.

Phil. As if perpetual Continence is Iniquity.

Orth. No, by no means; yet a Vow of this sort
hen the Gift is wanting, is a Snare to the Consci-
ce. For the Apostle writing to the Church of
d which was at *Corinth*, that is, to the Ministers
well as Laicks, promulges this Law; *Let every one,*
reason of Fornication, have his own Wife, (1 Cor. 7.2.)
ery one, whether a Laick or a Clergyman, to a-
id the Peril of Fornication, may use the Remedy
anted by Heaven. But your perpetual Vow of
ontinence obliges a Man not to marry, altho' he
fers inextinct Fires of Lust. So in a wasting Di-
mper, the Medicine is witheld, and God, the Phy-
ian, is despised. What follows from hence, the
ews and Brothel-houses at *Rome* teach. But in
e Interim, your Cloysters of Monks and Nuns,
hich your own Writers speak of, for Modesty I'll
s over in Silence.

Phil. Howsoever these things are, does not our
rd say, that some make themselves Eunuchs for
e Kingdom of Heaven's sake? *Matth.* 19. 12.

Orth. Let us hear St. *Augustine* (*de Sanct. Virg.* C. 23)
What can be more true, and more plainly spoken?
Christ, who speaks Truth, speaks the Vertue and
Wisdom of God, says, that those who from a pious
purpose abstain from Marriage, do castrate them-
selves for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake'. He
ys not from a pious *Vow*, but from a pious Pur-
se; he speaks not to the Clergy, but to every one.
may be a Purpose in either, in the Interim, that it
not a Vow. Altho' I have not denied this; ei-
er it may be a made from a Vow, but pious; that
circumscribed with holy Conditions, and tem-

per'd to Human Imbecility, not over-rigid and rash without reason.

Phil. The very Appellation of Eunuchs speaks it perspicuously, a Vow: 'For he is not an Eunuch (says *Bellarmine de Monast. c.23.*) 'who only contains, 'but he who is not able not to contain; but the Eu- 'nuchs, of which is spoken, are not compelled to 'contain from the Fault of Nature: For Christ 'himself separates those from these: Neither are 'they compelled by any common Law (for there is 'no Law absolutely forbidding Nuptials;) There- fore it only remains, that they cannot from a parti- cular Law, taken sponsaneously, that is, from a Vow.

Orth. Here Eunuchs are called Continent by a Metaphor; not because they are not able not to contain, as Eunuchs properly called; but because they temperate and refrain themselves from Mar- riage, as if they were Eunuchs; altho' they do not this, as they say, from a Fault of Nature, or Neces- sity; but of their own accord, from a pious Pur- pose; or they do it by reason of an instant Necessi- ty, as St. *Paul* admonishes, that they may more com- modiously suffer the Times of Persecution; or by some other View, to obtain the Kingdom of Hea- ven.

Phil. 'The same (says *Bellarmine, eodem loco*) is 'collected from the Words [who have castrated 'themselves;] for if the Lord had spoken of those 'who live single, without any Vow, he would have 'said [who castrate themselves daily] not [who have 'castrated themselves] When therefore he said, '[who have castrated themselves] signifies those 'who by a voluntary Action had amputated from

'them-

themselves every Faculty of contracting Marriage.

Orth. They are said to castrate themselves, and spontaneously to amputate from themselves the Faculty of contracting Marriage; not as if they had omitted an absolute Vow of perpetual Continency; but because they had firmly proposed to live continently in Celibacy, as long as they had the gift. And that they may fix to themselves this point, so constantly they appointed with themselves to use Prayer, Fasting and other means, by which they may (if God thinks fit) always enjoy this Gift, or at least, as long as God hath given; for all do not receive this Word, but save those to whom 'tis given, (*Matth.* 19.11.)

Phil. Altho' all have not a Power at hand, yet they have a Remote one; and may, if they will, by their Prayers impetrate a Power at hand; that is, strength to contain. He therefore that has not, may ask of the Lord. To him that asks, it shall be given.

Orth. So that he asks according to God's Will. For God wills not to communicate this Gift to every one; but to some only. It is not promised to all, it is not commanded to all; he may receive it that can receive it, (*Matth.* 19. 12.) Every one has his proper Gift from God, one after this manner, the other after that, (1 *Cor.* 7.7.) Wherefore *Matrimony* is the Gift of God, as well as *Celibacy.*

Phil. If they cannot contain, they muſt faſt and macerate the Fleſh.

Orth. This, truly, St. *Hierome* did, whom Satan tempted in a wonderful manner, as he confeſſes (*Ep. ad Euſtochium*) in theſe Words; 'O, how many times 'placed in the Deſert, and in that vaſt Solitude, 'which, burnt by the Ardours of the Sun, made a 'horrid Habitation for *Monks*, I did think that I 'was in the midſt of *Roman* Pleaſures. I ſate a- 'lone, becauſe I was full of Bitterneſs; my Mem- 'bers cloathed in Sackcloth were horrid; my ſquali- 'Skin was like an *Æthiop*'s; my daily Entertain- 'ments were, Tears and Groans; and if when ſome 'imminent Sleep had oppreſs'd me, I beat my na- 'ked feeble Bones on the Ground. I ſpeak of my 'Diet and Drink, when alſo the languiſhing *Monk* 'drank cold Water, and took ſomewhat boiled, 'twas 'Luxury. I my ſelf there, who, for fear of Hell 'had condemned my ſelf to ſuch a Priſon, was only 'a Companion for Scorpions and wild Beaſts; of- 'tentimes I aſſociated with Girls; my Mouth was 'pale with Faſting; my Mind in a frigid Body burn- 'ned with Deſire; and the Fire of Luſt did boil up 'the Man, long before almoſt dead in his own Fleſh.' So He. Altho' St. *Hierome*, lying at the Feet of Je- ſus, watering them with his Tears, wiping them with his Hair, had ſubjugated with Faſting his ſo reſiſting Fleſh; and after much weeping, with his Eyes in- tent upon Heaven, he ſometimes ſeemed to be in the Company of Angels, and joyfully to chant out with the Perſon in the *Canticles*, (1. 4.) *We will run after thee in the Odour of thy Ointments.* How few are there that would not have ſunk here! How many Perils here! How many fiery Darts! How great are the Precipices! If half-ſtarved Priſons do ſuſtain thoſe

ose, what do young Men in the Flower of their ge sustain? Lust, says the Poet, (*Ovid. Metam. lib.*) eats up the Marrow; and how much deeper it the Fire so much the more rages.

Wherefore he, who after so many ardent Prayers, stilling Tears, frequent Fastings, and other means this sort, instituted by the Lord, used with Dili- ence, perceives himself wasted as yet with Temp- tions and dangerous Burnings, may know a Reme- y for himself prescribed by the Apostle, *'Tis better marry than burn.*

Phil. If Marriages are good in themselves, do ot compare them to a Fire; but with simplicity y, 'tis good to marry. The Goodness of a thing akes me suspect it, when the Greatness of one E- il makes me do an Inferiour. *I will not have it a more light Evil, but a simple Good in it self,* saith St. *Hierome* (adverf. Jovin.)

Orth. When the Apostle saith, 'tis better to marry han to burn, he makes no Comparison betwixt two Evils, but betwixt a Good and Evil, the Medecine and the Disease; which is usual: As for Example, as if one should say, 'Tis better to be a Christian, than to be damned. Hence St. *Augustine* (*de bono Conjug.*) Wedlock and Fornication are not two Evils, of which one is worse; but Wedlock and Conti- nence are two Goods, of which one is better.

Hence he proves that Wedlock is not an Evil, because the Apostle says, [If a Virgin marry she sin- neth not, (1 *Cor.* 7. 28.) Moreover, 'tis manifest that 'tis a Good; because the same Apostle says, (V 38.) [He that gives her in Marriage, does well.] Altho' it is a less Good than Continency; because it fol- lows, [He that doth not give her in Marriage, doth better.]

Where-

Wherefore to whom the Lord does deny the great-
ter Gift, that is, Continence, he makes requeſt fro-
the Lord for Matrimony, which is good, though
leſs Good.

Phil. What? Can a Man marry after the ſolem-
Vow of Chaſtity?

Orth. There are two Degrees of Chaſtity; Th-
firſt is ſincere Virginity; the ſecond, faithful Wed-
lock. He therefore that cannot perform the Vow
which he made in the firſt Degree, may do it in th-
ſecond. For ſo he will poſſeſs his Veſſel in honour
he will pleaſe the Lord, he is not reckoned a Perſon
guilty of a Vow violated, but a Keeper of a Vow
conſummate.

Phil. This I will ſay, that CRANMER had not only
undertaken the Vow of Chaſtity, but alſo of per-
petual Continence and Celibacy.

Orth. He who has the Gift of Continence to day,
knows not whether he can keep it to morrow: For
'tis God alone who can keep us from a Lapſe, (*Ep.
Jud.* v. 24.) Wherefore no one ought to vow ſimply,
but with Conditions of this ſort. If God gives the
Gift, if human Infirmity ſuffers, he that acts other-
wiſe, acts raſhly; For an unfaithful and fooliſh
Promiſe diſpleaſes God: For in our daily Con-
cerns, and what is moſt eaſie to be done by us, every
Promiſe is not only raſh, but impious, if it be not
temper'd with this Modification, If he pleaſes, If
God grants, (Ep. Jacob. C. 4. 13, 14.

Phil.

Phil. But if he cannot contain after he made a
w of this sort, whether he will fly to Nup-
ls ?

Orth. A Vow declared with the Interposition of
d's Name, is not to be rashly violated. In such a
e we must pray, fast, and labour with all our
ength to extinguish those Burnings, by which we
y be able to perform the Vows made to God.
But if this Fire depopulates to the very Marrow,
t the danger of Scortation, and the Temptation
Satan approaches ; hear the Apostle crying out,
ey that do not contain, let them marry, (1 *Cor.* 7.9.)
r Experience it self now hath taught you, that this
a rash Vow. Acknowledge therefore that you
ve sinned, by presuming above your Strength, by
wing rashly, by assuming the Name of the Lord
vain, and by throwing your self into such great
fficulties. And petition of the Lord to pardon
u for Christ's sake, when the Vow thus rashly
de (*rebus sic stantibus*) you cannot keep without Sin.
'Tis therefore more satisfactory, holily to rescind
ash Vow with *David* (1 *Sam.* 25.) in the Case of
abal, than to fulfil wickedly with *Herod*, in the Case
St. John Baptist (*Mark* 6. 26) *Gratian* (*Caus.* 22)
th copiously confirmed this.
The Case is this ; some one had sworn to kill his
ther, or to vitiate a Nun. Wherefore in the Coun-
of *Toledo* it was *quæry'd*, whether such an Oath
as to be kept ? It was answer'd, No ; because it was
ore tolerable to reject a rash Promise, than to ful-
it. The same is confirmed by the Authority of
e Council of *Hilerden* and *Illiberis*, and moreover
the Testimony of *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustine*, *Bede*
d *Isidore* ; whose Words, because they are con-
se and elegant, I shall add : *In evil Promises break*
Faith ;

Faith; in a base Vow change the Decree; do not do w you vowed without Caution. The Promise is impious t is to be accomplished with Impiety. These are the Wo cited by *Gratian.* The Words of *St. Cyprian* co cerning Nuns I'll add; *Because if from Faith they ha dedicated themselves to Christ, let them persevere mode and chastely; so that, strong and stable, they may exp the Præmium of Virginity. But if they will not per were, or cannot, 'tis better to marry, than by their own Fu* (or, as others read it, *by their own Delight*) *to fall i the Fire:* Which CRANMER did: Did it not becom a Good and Holy Man?

Thus I have gone through the best part of CRA MER's Life and Actions. I found him Archdeacon *Taunton*; I have fully proved his Consecration; have utterly overthrown that Popish Argument his Intrusion into the See of *Canterbury* by the A thority alone of King *Henry* the Eighth; I ha brought him to the Stake, where he condemned h own Cowardice, and offered his subscribing Han first to the Flames, and then his whole Body to t *Molech* of *Rome.*

Now, Sir, I will put a Period to my long Lette and have eased both my self and you.

But you have with your pressing Arguments (an who can withstand them?) laid upon me anothe Task. You told me, that you have heard of th *Romish* Fable of the *Nagg's-Head-Clubb Consecration* and you desired me to give you some account of and to expose it to the World. And this I will d in as few Words as I can; Yet, I hope, I shall b so full and clear, in that Point, as to satisfie an doubtful or wavering Persons, and so fix them i our Church, as that all the *Romish* Factors, wit their Tricks and Juggles shall not be able to perve them.

I remember, I hinted to you, that the Reverend Dr. *Brett* had given some Account of this matter already; yet you desisted not from your Request; and I assure you, since you are so unalterable, all the Defects of this Account shall be laid to your Charge; and how you can bear them, I know not.

The Reader (if he is Candid and in good Humour) will pardon them, if not for my sake, yet for yours, who is not capable of bearing too heavy Burthen.

I shall proceed in the same Way and Method I did in Archbishop CRANMER's Case: For I am convinc'd, that the Way of Dialogue is the most useful, most edifying, most convincing, and most diverting.

A VINDICATION OF Archbiſhop *PARKER*'s CONSECRATION.

hil. IF you can defend and maintain the Vocation of Biſhops (for Truth ſeeketh not Holes and Corners,) produce their Conſecrations, and place them in a Meridian ight, that their Fame may be declared to the whole /orld. We ſhall begin, (as 'tis juſt) from *Matthew arker*, who was the Firſt in the Reign of Queen *lizabeth*, who bore the Name of *Archbiſhop of Canrbury*.

Orth. What? Had he only a bare Name? This coff is full of Superciliouſneſs and Pride; and owes s Original to *Nicholas Saunders*, who dedicated a ook with this Title, *Petra Eccleſiæ*, to the moſt Reerend Archbiſhop, without any Reſpect, yea, with ıe greateſt Contempt and Irriſion, in this manner; *o the very venerable Man Mr. Doctor* Parker, *bearing ie Name of Archbiſhop of* Canterbury: As if our Biıops were not (*re ipsâ*) in very deed, Biſhops; but

only in Name and Title. Go on therefore, let us hear what you have to aſperſe him with.

Phil. This firſt I am very willing to learn from you: I pray, be ſo kind to inform me in what Church or Chapel was PARKER Inaugurated? We read of one *Maximus*, who was Conſecrated in a Muſick-Houſe (*Greg. Presbyt. in vitâ Greg. Nazian.*) But it ſeems to me, your PARKER *Maximus* obtained this Honour in an Inn or Tavern. For the Famous Dr. *Kelliſon* relates, (*Reply to Dr.* Sutton, p. 31.) that he had heard, that ſome (Men, without doubt of unqueſtionable Credit) relate, that ſeveral of thoſe new *Superintendents* at *London*, were conſtituted Biſhops in *Cheapſide* at the *Naggs-Head*. O Chappel truly worthy of ſuch a Conſecration! Of which Number was *Matthew Parker*, as the Reverend Father *Henry Fitz-Simon* expreſsly affirms (*Britannom. p.* 321.) Hence 'tis probable, becauſe he was the Firſt of all your Biſhops, that was inaugurated in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign.

Orth. What you talk of the *Nagg's Head*, brings to my memory Pope *John* the Twelfth, who in a Stable Ordained a Deacon. O Sanctuary, worthy of ſuch a Saint! Neither is this that I tell you, a light Rumour, or Fable, as that of yours of the *Nagg's Head*, but a true Hiſtory, and a matter acted, related by *Luitprand*, (*Lib.* 6. *Cap.* 7.) whom this preſent and future Ages acknowledge to be a Learned Hiſtorian notwithſtanding the Virulency of *Baronius* (*Ann.* 962.) who loads him and all Oppoſers, with what Curſes and Contumelies he can. Not from idle Rumours iſſuing from the Mouths of moſt trifling Men; but by two Witneſſes, the one a Biſhop, the other a Cardinal, *John*, Biſhop of *Narnium* in *Italy*, and *John*, Cardinal-Deacon; who in a *Roman* Coun-

before *Otho* the Emperor, affirm, they saw that pe ordain a Deacon in a Stable.

But whereas you assert, that your *Kellison* did hear me telling credibly this pretty Story; I tell you, that your Men, more than enough indulge themves, are over-credulous, and give the willing Ears Lyes and Calumnies, by which they may blacken nd bring into hatred the Protestants. For 'tis told *Rome*, and that with Credibility, that Catholicks, hat is, the Papists) are sewed up in the Skins of ild Beasts, and are torn to pieces by mad Dogs, *Andrews Tort.* p. 252.) It is told at *Rome*, and that ith Credibility, that Catholicks in *England* are tied Horse-mangers, and there fed with Hay.

O Lyes credible, and worthy to be believed! with hich, as with Rubies, the Pope's Triple Diadem ust shine and glister. Which (may I call them Dreams or Villainies) are not only told, but also are ainted in living Colours in the English College at t *Rome*, and cut and engraved in Letters, with the rivilege of Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth (*Eccles. Ang. Troph. Anno* 1584.) There was truly need of a splendid Privilege for such splendid Lyes.

But this Fable of the *Nagg's Head* (altho' it passes currently at *Rome*, and is received by your Men, running hither and thither through the whole World) is dissipated, and is a meer Lye, Cosin German to the former, and worthy of *Rome* it self.

For if we consult the Archives of the Church of *England*, wrote at that time from the publick Credit, by the Prothonotary of *Canterbury*, and there repos'd in safe Custody, and venerable for its Antiquity, it will appear, that this most Excellent Bishop was Consecrated in his Chappel within the Mannor of *Lambeth*. (Reg. Parkeri, *Tom.* 1. *Folio* 9.

The

The ſame is eaſily collected from the Acts of Pa liament, collated amongſt themſelves : It was ena ted in the 25th Year of *Henry* the Eighth (C. 20 That if any Archbiſhop or Biſhop, within 20 Da after the Receipt of the Letters-Patents, did n Conſecrate the Elect Biſhop, and that with all du Circumſtances, they ſhould be puniſhed with *Præmu nire*. But in conferring the Sacred Epiſcopal Order a Sacred Place, eſpecially when the Church is in flouriſhing Condition, ought, without doubt, to b a due Circumſtance. The Statute decrees, that th Epiſcopal Order ſhould be celebrated in a holy Place that is, in a Church or Chapel.

The *Engliſh* Ordinal at this time, (which was pub liſhed by Authority of Parliament under *Edward* th Sixth) permits not a Deacon to be Ordained, but i the Face of the Church. But all the Orders in th Kingdom, in a moſt ample Parliamentary Senate, i the 8th Year of Q. *Elizabeth*, ſpeaking of the Con ſecration of *Parker* and others, affirm in expre Words, That the ſame was performed according t the Acts, Statutes, and the ſaid Ordinal.

Moreover, it gives this Teſtimony, that 'tis very clear, that there is no Cauſe, Scruple or Doubt, that could be objected (*jure*) by right againſt the ſaid E lections, Confirmations or Conſecrations, or againſt any thing elſe, which ought to be uſed in or about the ſame ; and to that end, every thing neceſſary or requiſite to be done and finiſh'd as exactly, or rather with greater Sollicitude and Diligence under Queen *Elizabeth*, as ever was before ; ſo that none, or the moſt light Scruple, may ariſe.

Here's truly the Conſequence that theſe Biſhops were not made in a Tavern or Victualling-Houſe; but in the Face of the Church. The Members of Parliament do not ſtop here ; but in the following Words do appeal to the Archives ; to thoſe very Ar-

hives, I say, which a little before I produc'd, and
ch do most expressly affirm, that PARKER was
nsecrated in the Chapel within the Mannor of
beth. And truly, this Fact was not without the
ine Providence, that these very things should be
numents to perpetual Memory; of whom, by
Benefit of this Consecration, not a light Adum-
tion, but an express Effigies is transmitted to Po-
ity. I think, it fell out by Providence, that the
e, Fifty Years before, should be so honourably
d by all the Orders of the Kingdom. For from
Sun they all borrow so great a Splendor, that
y cannot be darken'd by the Clouds of any Je-

That which so gratefully and pleasantly happens
s; because this Consecration, which was above
ty Years before, was almost out of the Memory
any then living. Yet the Divine Providence has
erved for us One Venerable Old Man, a Man
yond Exception.

This was the most Noble and Famous Hero,
arles Howard, Earl of *Nottingham,* and late High
dmiral of *England*; who in the Year 1616, was
k'd by a Friend, whether he was invited (for by
Age he might) or no, to grace by his Presence
ARKER of *Canterbury*'s Consecration, and its Solem-
ty; answer'd, that he was earnestly ask'd and in-
ted. Whether? To the *Nagg's Head?* No, by no
eans; but to the Palace of *Lambeth*; whither he
id he went on the Day appointed, for That very
ause. Moreover, he asserted, that he was present
nong other Noblemen, at the Feast, (which is
ont to be most splendid) upon that very Day of
onsecration.

But why *Parker* should so seriously invite him, and
e so studiously was willing to gratifie *Parker*, he
ave this Eximious and Singular Reason; because
they

they were nearly related in Blood. You see therefore this most Noble Hero fairly agreeing both with the Acts of Parliament, and with the Venerable Archives of the Church of *England*. What is become of the pretty Fable of the *Nagg's Head*? 'Tis true gone to Hell, from whence it came.

Phil. It is not a Fable, but a Real matter, approved by the Testimony of many, which here is worth the while to reckon from Father *Fitz Sim*. 'Celebrated Authors, (says *Brit.* p. 316,) who have 'brought to light the following Ordination; (He 'understands that done in a Tavern or Victualling 'House, either in expres Terms, or from necessary 'Consequence) are *Saunders*, *Parsons*, a *Sacrobosco*, 'Kellison, F. T. has lately publish'd a Supplement in 'that matter, *Thomas Haberty*, *D. Bluet*, &c. 'whom some immediately, others mediately receive 'it by Men of the greatest Integrity, from an Eye 'Witness; *Thomas Neal*, *Hebrew* Professor at *Oxford*, 'and all these are beyond Exception; to whom 'in *England*, they deny any Distinction betwixt the 'false Bishops and Ministers, and the pure Laick 'are added, *Bristow*, *Harding*, *Stapleton* (who some 'where says, that 'tis notorious that they not only 'were not Canonically Ordained; but neither were 'they Ordained according to the Statute,) *Reginald* 'the *Rhemish English*, Men certainly of some Reputation. Also of the Reformed, *Fulk*, *Whitaker*, *Powel*, *Beza*: That if any thing further is required to 'the Certainty of the Fact, it will easily be conceived from *Puritan* Arbitrators; partly in Words conceived; partly in saying in expres Sence, that to 'this day the Order of Bishops is prophane in *England*; and their Ordination was in a Corner; their 'Beginning and Progress is without a Congregation.

Ori

Orth. Consider (O Jesuit) that this Catalogue of
y Authors is to be divided into Four Classes, which
a retrograde Order, I think fit to run through.
To begin therefore with those whose Palates the
piscopal Order pleases not; Every one knows, that
ey are the malicious Enemies of our Church. But
the *Nagg's Head*, or Victualling-House Ordination
ey have not that I know of, given any thing under
eir Hands. Of this sort there is extant a Book of
certain Man, wrote with the Spirit of *Lucian* a-
ainst Archbishop *Parker*; in which are as many Scoffs
s Words.
In this Book mention is made of *Parker*'s Conse-
ration; but not one Word of the *Nagg's Head*, or the
avern or Victualling House. But if perhaps, any
ne thinks, that this Demonstrator of Discipline, by
Ordination in a Corner, did understand this very Or-
ination of which we treat, it is very like that this
uthor stole his Reproach from the Papists, that he
ight make us envied. For this Fable of the Papists
a genuine Offspring, and owes its Original to the
apists; not to the Puritans. We therefore dismiss
ese, that we may come to the Second *Classis*.
What is this Impudence, (O Jesuit!) that you
hould reckon and number our Men; all which (not
eza excepted) have honourable Thoughts of our
nglish Bishops, with the Tatlers of the *Nagg's*
ead? Those Famous Names (as you call them)
which you have placed in your Second Rank, altho'
hey mortally hate us, yet have not spoken one
Word of this Fable. All your most Celebrated Au-
hors are therefore to be reduc'd to One Regiment,
nd that perhaps, not full and compleat.
For *Saunders*, that most Egregious Compiler of
yes, altho' he torments himself at the Inauguration
f our Bishops, yet does not touch at this Fable.

The reſt that you commemorate, are your own, *Parſons, Sacroboſco, Kelliſon, Fitz-Herbert*; to which you may add others, the Author of the *Demonſtration of Proteſtants, Champney, Floud, Waddeſworth:* But of theſe your Celebrated Authors how many will there be at length? *Champney, Sacroboſcus* and ſome others, learnt it of *Bluet* in *Wisbich-Caſtle*; others from *Thomas Heberly*; both of theſe from *Thomas Neal*. The reſt (as I may ſo ſay, give a Secondary and an otherwiſe-deſired Teſtimony. *Neal* gives the firſt and Primitive; the reſt from *Neal*, invented theſe from the Devil the Father of Lies. Let therefore the others be diſmiſs'd: For *Neal* only is the *Dædalus*, Inventer and Architect of this Lye.

But who is he? Certainly a Papiſt, who was one of *Bonner*'s Familiars, as *Champney* ſays, (p. 498.) or Chaplain, as *Sacroboſcus*, (*de Inveſtig. Eccleſ. Cap* 4.) But perhaps he ſpoke it before a Judge: No, not that; but only mutter'd it in a Corner.

Now, let the Indifferent paſs judgment, whether the Credit of a Papiſt unſworn, a Familiar of our Enemy, not talking to a Judge; but prattling with his Companions in a Corner, is to be eſteem'd, againſt ſo many Prelates, againſt the Archives, againſt all the Orders of the Realm then in being, againſt ſuch a Hero as I mentioned?

Phil. He was an Eye-Witneſs; and what he ſaw, he related to ancient Confeſſors, (*Champ. p.* 499. *Sacrob. id.*)

Orth. He had a Swimming, or Miſt before his Eyes; or he was in a Dream.

Phil. Yea, a Council being appointed to look into this Scenical Ordination, from *Oxford* he comes to *London*.

Orth.

Orth. Was it so? Therefore he had receiv'd an Account of it at *Oxford.* What was it? Concerning the Ale-House Ordination?

Phil. Of the future Ordination; which, since the matter did not succeed otherwise, from the Event was the Alehouse-Ordination, where he was in Person.

Orth. I *query* therefore, was *Neal* known or unknown to PARKER and the other Prelates? If known, they would by no means have admitted a profess'd Papist, and a Valet of their Capital Enemy; but would have thrown him headlong down. If he was unknown, how dar'd he with so much Impudence thrust himself into the Company of so many Men? See, I pray, this whole Narration, how little of Credibility is in it.

Phil. Not only Catholicks, which with you are of little Credit, are Witnesses of this Solemn Meeting at the *Nagg's Head*; but also *John Stow*, the famous Annalist of *England*, Professor of the Reformed Religion, testifies the same.

Orth. What, did *Stow* write of the *Nagg's Head* Fable?

Phil. I dare not say, that in his Writings he gave his Testimony; but he spake of it to some of his familiar Friends, Men of the greatest Reputation, some of whom are yet alive, and testifie it.

Orth. Who are they? I would willingly give them a Meeting.

Phil. Seeing they are not leſs fearful of publickly affirming this of him, than when he was living, was afraid to write it.

Orth. What is to play at Boys Play, if this is not?

Phil. Of this matter I find theſe Writings in the Manuſcripts of the Learned *Henry Conſtable*, a Noble-man; and all that ever knew him, ſpeak him a Perſon of a ſharp and acute Wit, and who was not moved with light and idle Conjectures: 'Parker was 'Ordained by Two (at the moſt) Heretical Prieſts, 'not Biſhops, if *Barlow* aſſiſted *Scorey* in that Acti-'on, which I find not. For Old *Llandaff*, who was 'brought to the Place deſigned for the Conſecration 'of PARKER and the reſt, pretended he was blind, 'leſt he ſhould commit ſo great a Sacrilege. From 'whence it came to paſs, they repaired to *Scorey*, of 'whom they firſt had no thoughts: Which not only 'Catholicks of the moſt undoubted Credit, who 'were Eye-witneſſes of the Action, teſtifie; but alſo '*John Stow*, who is a Witneſs of the ſame matter, 'who diligently enquired into all the Circumſtances 'of this Action, altho' he had not Courage to in-'ſert them in his Annals. Thus far *Henry Conſtable.*

Orth. Firſt of all, this thy Noble Author has uttered two Noble Falſhoods.

Firſt of all, he aſſerts, That PARKER was Ordain'd by Two at the moſt. *Secondly*, he aſſerts, that his Ordainers were Prieſts only, and not Biſhops!

What you hence ſubjoin of *Llandaff*, *Scorey*, *John Stow*, do not hit the Mark. *Champney*, who was willing to bring in *John Stow*, (who is wholly ſilent in the

matter, a Witness of this solemn Convention at *Nagg's Head*. *John Stow's* Silence is to be cured *Henry Constable*, a Man of a sharp Wit, called for stimony. Yet this Great Man has nothing of lent: For altho' he is most sharp-sighted, and our inveterate Enemy, and tho' he was most circpect, yet could not have a sight of the *Nagg's*

il. That these were not *Stow's* Figments and Inons, besides the aforesaid Testimonies, this Arnt is very probable; because in his Annals he s no manner of mention of PARKER's Consecraor Ordination, nor the rest of the new Bishops; together passes over it in silence, as if there had no such thing. (*Champ.* p. 502.)

b. Your Argument is this; *Stow* mentions not ER's Consecration; therefore PARKER, from the ion of *Stow*, was Consecrated at the *Nagg's* O very probable Argument!

l. All things being justly weighed and considerny other probable Reason of his Silence cannot edged, except he feared to bring upon himself d and Indignation, by telling the Truth For is clear and manifest, that nothing was done y of moment, especially at *London*, which he t to pass by (altho' of much less moment than onsecration and Ordination of so many new ps, and of the Metropolitan himself, and also Bishop of *London.*) Secondly, *Stow* makes Profession towards PARKER; and many things s moment he does not omit to relate of him, his Consecration for Archbishop. Thirdly, All nographers are very diligent in noting Innovaand Changes of old Customs, in matters chief-

ly

ly of greater moment, as are the Consecration Bishops. Fourthly, He sufficiently describes Consecration, Inthronization, the Reception of Pall of Cardinal *Pool*, the immediate Predeces PARKER, which yet were ordinary to all antece Bishops. Much less therefore, he could pass in livion the Consecration of PARKER, which confesses to be so singular and unusual ; That it far different from the Consecration of all the Bis from St. *Augustine*, (and if he had said from C himself, he had not ly'd.) Fifthly, Besides othe novations regarding Religion, he describes tho a lighter Concern than the Institution of a Clergy, he remembers the Deprivation of the tholick Bishops, made in *July* ; That he was n ble to suffer himself to forget the Creation and nation of new ones ; especially, when he had jo together the Restitution of *Bonner* and other C lick Bishops, Ejected from their Sees under *E* the Sixth, and the Expulsion of the Intruders their Sees under Queen *Mary*.

All these things being rightly consider'd, 'tis cessary to affirm, that there was some other Re of his so stubborn Silence concerning the Cons tion of PARKER and the rest.

Orth. First, At that time there was no New stitution, but only a Restitution of the Mini There was no Innovation ; but rather a Renov in PARKER's Consecration : For altho' PARKER the First of the Archbishops of *Canterbury* tha Consecrated without so many redundant Cerem yet before him many Bishops are Inaugurated i same manner as he was, in the Reign of Kin *ward*.

Nothing therefore was here new, or besides But if the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and so

ops were Ordained in a Tavern, by this right it
t be called New and Extraordinary, because ne-
eard of from the Beginning of the World, and
e admired at by all future Ages.

What Historian, desirous of News, can temperate
Pen from writing? Or if *Stow* dare not, yet
ders (who any way would bring Odium upon
would not be silent; especially, when he speaks
maliciously of these very Bishops and their Inau-
tion.

condly, What sort of Argument is this, that is
duced, not from the Testimony, but from the Si-
e of a Man? What's the matter? Do you bring
itness without a Testimony? But as if from the
nce of an Historian, a mute Argument would be
can produce the most clear authentick Tables.
at is this *Stow*, whose mute and silent Testimony
ld be opposed to the most splendid Archives of
Church of *England*, and the loud and sounding
ce of the whole Realm?

hirdly, Let us now see how this Argument is
k'd up. Will you thus argue? *Stow* mentions not
Word of PARKER's Consecration in *Lambeth* Cha-
; therefore, without doubt, he was not there
nsecrated? If this Reason is not valid, neither
rs. If yours is nervous, This is so too. Or per-
s you reason thus: *Stow* makes no mention of
KER's Consecration at *Lambeth*; therefore accor-
g to *Stow*, he was Consecrated in a Tavern. For
agree, that he was there or here Consecrated.
I'll turn the Tables upon you, and thus argue:
does not mention PARKER's Tavern-Consecrati-
; therefore, according to *Stow*, he was Consecra-
in the Chapel of *Lambeth*; for all agree, that ei-
r here or there he was Inaugurated. So much of
Argument drawn from Silence.

Phil.

Phil. Not only his Silence, but his own exp
Words teach the ſame thing. For, ſpeaking of
Exequies of *Henry* the Second, King of *France*,
ſays expreſsly, (*Champ. p.* 509.) *that* Scorey *did pu*
in the Church of St. Paul, *in the place of* Grindal,
ſhop of London, *whilſt the Obſequies of* Henry *the*
cond, King of France, *were there celebrated, on th*
day of September 1559. Seeing therefore he ſ
that *Grindal* was then Biſhop of *London*, it is mani
that he was Ordained three Months before Par
(if *Maſon's* Acts are of any credit) who yet in
ſame *Acts* is ſaid to have Ordained *Grindal* him
Hence, when in the ſame place he now had ca
Parker Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Elect; and yet
ſtiles *Grindal* Biſhop of *London*, abſolutely, with
any Diſtinction; he makes an open Difference
twixt them, and ſhews him to have been then
only Elect, but alſo a Conſecrated Biſhop, *viz.*
cording to the manner now ſaid.

Orth. This is a jejune and frigid Conjecture. F
altho' *Grindal* at that time, from the Rigour of
Law, was called Lord Elect of the See of *Lon*
who yet is ignorant, that Men are wont to indigi
an Elect Biſhop, for Love and Honour ſake, a
Biſhop? Wherefore from this honourable Word,
the Figure *Charientiſmus*, it ought to be conclud
that *Grindal* had been Conſecrated before; much
had been Inſtalled; which yet hence *Champney*
like manner endeavours to infer.

But what Madneſs is it, from Titles, and Word
this ſort, to frame void and idle Conjectures, w
the authentick Tables, Witneſſes of Truth and
racity, paint the whole Affair in lively Colours?
the Archives of *Grindal's* Conſecration be conſult
(*Reg.* Park. *T.* 1. *Fol.* 18.) They will anſwer, tha

was celebrated on the 21*st* of *December* in the Year 559. Let the Mandate for the Installation of the same Archbishop of *Canterbury* be consulted, and you will truly find it dated on the same Day of the Month, when *Grindal* was put into possession of his See.

But go to; let us fansie the matter so managed as *Champney* raves: Do you not see how often, and what great Wounds he inflicts on himself? For first, he hints in another place, that *Grindal* and *Parker* were consecrated the same Day: Here he asserts, that the Consecration of *Grindal* was prior some Months to the Consecration of *Parker*.

Secondly, If *Grindal* was consecrated before the 9*th* Day of *September*, and that at the *Nagg's Head*, when *Parker* was not Consecrated, but only Elected; hence follows another Contradiction, to wit, that *Parker*, who according to your own Note, was Consecrated there, was not Consecrated there; or at last, there were Two Consecrations at the same Place, tho' at different times; which none of your Dreamers as yet ever dreamt of.

Phil. From hence this is not collected; but rather the contrary: For since in the same Place now recited, *Stow* calls *Scorey* Bishop of *Hereford* Elect, *Barlow* Bishop of *Chester* Elect, which yet are put by *Mason* Consecrated many Years before; because from that, PARKER is called Archbishop Elect: it cannot be gathered, that he was not then Consecrated; but only that he was not Enthroned in his Chair.

Orth. As to his Inthronization, you rightly admonish: For in all, whether New or Old, from a Title Bishop Elect, lawfully declared, the Argument his Installation does not follow: As, *Socrates* is Elected Bishop of this or that See; therefore not yet

he is introduc'd into the real and actual Poſſeſſion of this or that See. As ſoon as he is introduc'd, inthroniz'd and inſtall'd, he ceaſes to be called Biſhop Elect; and is abſolutely and ſimply called Biſhop of this or that Place.

Barlow therefore, *Scorey* and *Parker*, when as yet by the Preſcript of the Law, are called Lords Elect of their Sees, were not yet actually and abſolutely Biſhops of thoſe Sees.

But if you look at the Conſecration, there is not the ſame Reaſon of the Old Biſhops, who are afreſh Elected, that they may be tranſlated to another Church, and of New ones, which are now Elected, that they may be promoted in the firſt turn to the Epiſcopal Chair. In theſe the Argument does not follow from the Title of Election, to the Negation of Conſecration. For Example's ſake, if you ſo diſpute, *Cuthbert Tonſtal* was ſome time Elect Biſhop of *Durham*; therefore at that time he was not Conſecrated.

This Reaſon is not valid; becauſe *Tonſtal*, before this Election, was an Old Biſhop, ſuppoſe of *London*, and for that cauſe was Conſecrated before he took poſſeſſion of the See of *London*. But if you ſo argue, *Tonſtal* was ſome time Elect of *London*; therefore at this time he was not yet Inaugurated: This Argument is ſtrong enough; becauſe then at firſt he was new Elected, and a recent Candidate, neither enjoyed before any Seat, by reaſon of which he could be Conſecrated. Wherefore it may be, *Scorey* and *Barlow* then were Biſhops Elect, the one of *Hereford*, the other of *Chicheſter*; yet from hence it is not gathered, that they were not yet Conſecrated. For they were Old Biſhops, and Conſecrated before that they could adminiſter their former *Epiſcopate*. But the Argument is ſolid enough, if one ſay, PARKER was Elect of *Canterbury*; therefore at that time he

e was not Consecrated The reason of which is
is, that as soon as he was made Bishop, neither
fore his Susception of *Canterbury*, did exercise the
ffice of Bishop.

Hitherto of *John Stow*, in whom nothing occurs,
whom you fabricate the *Nagg's Head*. This fool-
Fable therefore ought to shame you, which has
ither Probability nor Shew of Reason. For what
lan is so mad to believe, such Learned and Prudent
len would be Ordained in a Tavern, when the
hurch was so full of Bishops?

Phil. This, I confess, (*primâ facie*) at first sight,
ems to have somewhat of Probability. But if the
atter was more throughly inspected into, there is
tle of Solidity found in it: For the reason of this
true; because when there was in them no hopes
bringing the Bishop of *Landaff* to Church, of
hom they desired and expected Consecration, they
ose such a Place to effect it, to which he easily
ceded; from hence it came to pass, that upon A-
eement they should meet at the *Nagg's Head*.
hamp. p. 500.)

Orth. What was the reason that they so earnestly
ired the Assistance of *Landaff*?

Phil. The Cause was, the Defect of other Bishops,
ho should lay Hands on the Candidates.

Orth. Nothing is more fooliſh than this Answer:
or a little after it shall appear, that Q. *Elizabeth* sent
er Letters-Patents to Seven Bishops concerning the
onfirmation and Consecration of PARKER. But
ll me, what was the Cause that *Landaff* declined so
arnestly to Ordain him?

Phil. When the Candidates met at the *Nagg's Head*, *Landaff*, an old and ſimple Fellow, came to collate Orders, he underſtood that *Bonner*, Dean of the Biſhops, ſent from the Tower of *London* (for he was there detained for the ſake of Religion) his Chaplain; who forbad *Landaff*, upon the pain of Excommunication, to Ordain the New Candidates. Upon this Denunciation, *Landaff* being ſcar'd, withdrew, and uſing much Tergiverſation, ſhunn'd the ſacrilegious Ordination (*Sacroboſc. de Inveſ. Ecc. Cap.* 4)

Orth. Here are Three things to be conſider'd; *Bonner* who ſent, the Chaplain by whom, and *Landaff* to whom. But to begin with *Bonner*; What do you mean by the Title, *Dean of the Biſhops?*

Phil. All the Biſhops of every Province, although Men famous and illuſtrious, in reſpect of the Primate and Metropolitan, were in times of Yore called *Suffragans.* In the Province of *Canterbury* (as the Author of the *Britannick Antiquities*, p. 20. teſtifies) the Biſhops, as Suffragans, performed ſome Services to the Archbiſhop: The firſt Honour under the Primate belongs to the Biſhop of *London*: Being a Synod, and College of Biſhops, was called *Dean*. After the Biſhop of *London*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* is next in Honour to the Primate; becauſe he is called his *Chancellour.* After *Wincheſter* comes *Lincoln*, who is Vice-Chancellour: Then *Sarum* is Præcentor, *Worceſter* Chaplain, and *Rocheſter* was the Croſs-Bearer to the Metropolitan.

Orth. O *Philodox!* you are put upon. For *Bonner* was before deprived of his Biſhoprick of *London*, and by conſequence, of the Deanery of the Biſhops. And if we fanſie he had the ſame Office yet, what then?

n? Can he therefore fulminate against *Landaff*? e Office of Dean was this, (*Antiq. Brit. p.* 20.) what Decree was commanded by the Metropo- n thro' his Province, by his Letters, shall be exe- ed by the other Prelates. But *Bonner* in this Af- had received no Mandate from his Metropolitan. erefore as Dean, he could not do it.

Moreover, there is a Caution in the Act of Parlia- nt (25 *H.* 8. *Cap.* 20.) that if any Person shall ad- defend, approve, do, or exercise any Censures, ommunications, Prohibitions, or any thing ten- g that way, that may hinder the Exercise of this (*viz.* of Consecration,) every such Delinquent il incur the Penalty of *Præmunire.*

Who now can believe that *Bonner*, now deprived his Bishoprick, and in Prison, had a mind to ow (*Bruta Fulmina*) white Powder against *Anthony Landaff*, and in the Judgment of Papists, a true hop, that in that denomination could perform the yal Mandate, consentaneous both to the Statutes the Realm, and the Canons of the Church? If *ner* did this, he acted like a cruel Man.

Now in the next place, I must say somewhat of the aplain; whether it was *Neal* or no, I know not; I suspect it, because *Champny* says (p. 498.) that e Threats were brought to *Landaff* by *Neal*. But osoever he was, if he assisted the fulminating *Bon-* according to the Statute, he was obnoxious to fame Penalty of *Præmunire*; who (if so great a nalty could not restrain from violating thus saucily holy a Mandate of so great a Prince) must be ac- nted to have a Face of Brass; a Chaplain truly rthy of *Bonner*; like to like.

Now, to come to *Landaff*; is it credible, that he om all the Bishops in *England* could not draw m true Religion, and the Duty to his Prince, t he should be so much affrighted by One Bishop

deposed

depos'd and imprisoned, as to fly off from his Duty his Prince? From his Duty (I say) which both t Canons of the Church, the King's Mandate and A of Parliament, did require? And shall he, who h sent the Pope's Bill of Divorce, be affrighted at t Bugbear of One Papist? For how vain they wa or from hence it appears, that in the City of *Lon* there are many Churches, over which the Bishop *London* has no manner of Jurisdiction, *viz.* the Arc bishop's Peculiars; which (as the Author of t *Britannick Antiquities* has it, p. 33.) are subject to t Archbishop alone. In one of these *Landaff* mig have conferr'd Orders, as it was, in the Interim fr from the Bishop of *London*'s Jurisdiction. There w therefore no cause of so great a Fear.

But to gratifie you, let us suppose that *Landaff* h fear withdrew; yet no sufficient Reason can be gi en, why, when so many Churches were open, t Consecration of so many Bishops should be in a T vern.

Phil. Perhaps Shame was the Occasion of the Privacy.

Orth. Therefore they would not admit *Neal* t their Company. But nothing here was shame ful.

Phil. But was there a due Number of Consecrators?

Orth. I have told you already, and shall tell yo more copiously hereafter in its proper place. But upon urgent necessity they had been all initiated by *Scorey* alone, yet there was no reason to be asham *Evagrius* was Consecrated by *Paulinus* alone, whom yet the Bishop of *Rome* did acknowledge to be

e and legal Bishop. (*Theodor.* 5. 23. *Binius, Tom.* 579.

Phil. Such Ordinations are ridiculous.

Orth. These are your Reproaches and Falshoods: every thing, as at this day, was performed in he same manner; that is, with Honesty and Decum, with publick Prayers, with a Sermon, and h the Celebration of the Lord's Supper. No use therefore can be given why they should seek Corners.

But let us take a View moreover of them that happ'd to be Ordained so well in so illustrious a Place. *ison* says, he had receiv'd an account, that some our Superintendents were Ordained there; but names no body. (*Repl. ad Doc. Eut. p* 31.) *Sacrous* asserts, that *Scorey* laid his Hands on the Canates who were created Bishops in the Beginning Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and some of them by rse laid their Hands on *Scorey*, (*Sacrob. de Invest. isti Eccles. Cap.* 4.) *Parsons* introduces *Jewel, Sands, n, Grindal*; yet in counting whose Names, perps for fear of Error, he somewhat hesitates; yet thinks, that others, whose Names he mentions , should be joyned with them, (*in Præfat. Discuss. fix. n.* 135.)

Fitz Simon in the first place, remembers PARKER, n *Grindal, Horn* and *Sands*; and hints also, that ers were Ordained in the same manner, (*Britannom. . c.* 5. *p.* 321.)

Champney makes great profession, that he'll tell the ole Story of the Consecrations of our First Bips, then sticks at the fulsome Fable of the *Nagg's ad*, in these Words; 'At the Sign of the *Nagg's Head* in *Cheapside* they all met upon Agreement, who should fill up the Vacant Bishopricks, whe-

'ther

'ther by Death, such as *Canterbury* alone, or by
'just Deposition, such were all the rest.' In
next Chapter he tells us their Names: So he. (*Cha*
p. 143. *Ed. Ang.*) By saying that *Canterbury* was
lone vacant by Death, is false: For by Death *Sar*
Bangor, and *Norwich* were Vacant. But in the n
Chapter, besides PARKER, he names Fourteen, w
Grindal, *Horn*, *Cox*, *Bullingham*, *Bentham*, *Barl*
Allen, *Sands*, *Scambler*, *Davis*, *Young*, *Pilkington*, *I*
Downham. All these Fifteen, *Champney* says, w
Inaugurated at the *Nagg's Head*.

Much more Modest is *James Waddesworth*, (in
n. 5.) who says, 'They did there attempt the C
'secration of the First Bishop, but did not finish
He was not so bold as to name All, but only
First; but which is he? Certainly, if we have R
gard to the Order and Dignity of Time, PAR
was the First. The Consecration of him, was
tempted, but not finish'd. See, I pray, how pret
they agree amongst themselves; all were Consec
ted, says *Champney*; not all, but some, says *Kelli*
not One, as *Waddesworth* hints. They had a Mi
to finish the Consecration there, *Waddesworth* sa
they did not finish it, but only attempted it: T
Consecration of All was not attempted, but o
the First.

But how unskilfully do the *Sorbon* Doctors co
found and mingle these Matters among themselv
will be most clear from the Supputation of the Se
sons: I therefore enquire, in what Day or Mon
this *Nagg's Head* Ordination happened? *Champ*
thinks it was in Year 1559, before the Ninth D
of *September*, which is very Incredible: For no M
in his Wits can think, that PARKER cou'd be Co
secrated, before the Queen had Publish'd her *Diplo*
to the Bishops for his Consecration: But this *Dip*
ma is Dated (see *Reg. Parker*, *Tom.* 1. *Fol.* 3.) the 5th
D

day of *December*, in the Year 1559, therefore he could not be Consecrated before the Sixth of *December*. But PARKER's Election was not confirmed before the Ninth of *December*: Therefore the Doctor of the *Sorbon* is strangely out, who thinks the Consecration was finish'd before the Ninth of *September*. Nothing can be more clear, or more consentaneous to Reason, than what the Authentick Tables, those Tests of Verity say, *viz.* That this Consecration was celebrated on the Lord's Day, which happened upon the Seventeenth Day of *December*, in the Chappel of *Lambeth*.

Moreover of the rest, besides *Parker*, in Number Fourteen, some were Consecrated in the same Month with *Parker*, but not on the same Day; as *Grindal*, *Cox*, *Sands*: For *Parker* is consecrated on the Seventeenth of *December*; they on the Twenty first of the same *December*. Others in the same Year, but not in the same Month, as *Bullingham*, *Jewel*, *Davis*, *Bentham*, and *Barkley*, who are Consecrated, not in *December*, as *Parker*, but either in *January*, as *Bullingham*, *Jewel*, and *Davis*; or in *March*, as *Bentham* and *Barkley*. Others under the same Princess, but not in the same Year, as *Horn*, *Allen*, *Scambler*, *Pilkington*. For *Parker* was Inaugurated in the Second of *Elizabeth*, but these in the Third. Yet the *Sorbonick* Doctor Dreams and raves, that all these were brought forth at one Birth and Labour at the *Nagg's Head*.

Lastly, That *Scorey* Consecrated the rest, and by some of them was in Turn Consecrated, is a Lye more than Jesuitical, and the Height of all Impudence; *Sacroboscus* and *Fitz Simon* are Relaters of this Lye. So the Falsity of this Invention is discovered, which was hatch'd for no other End, than to bring an Odium on our Ministry, and the Gospel of Christ, (which we Preach) and to please the *Pope*.

Are these the Men, that boast of Learning and Religion? Are these the Men that excel so much in Piety and Sincerity? Which yet, (*Philodoxus*) I shall shall now cease to wonder at, because this Practice to a Hair answers your Doctrine: For you teach, that an Officious Lye is only to be number'd with Venial Sins. But to whom, I pray, should these Pious Offices be rather performed, than to the Church of *Rome*, the most Indulgent Mother of all the rest? But what can be more grateful to you, than to mark us Eternally, and to condemn us of Schism, and Heresie? That you are so Officious in Figments I shall not admire; but attend, (*Philodox*) *The Stroke of the Flail makes a Stripe*, (*Eccluſ.* 28. 27.) and remember, that *a lying Mouth destroys the Soul*, (*Wisd.* 1. 18.) and *to all Lyars a Portion is prepared in the Lake that burns with Fire and Brimstone*, Rev. 21. 8.

The Consecrators of Archbishop PARKER.

Matthew Parker was Consecrated *December* 17. 1559.

By
- 1. *William Barlow*, 2. *John Hodgskins* } who were consecrated in *Henry* the 8th's Reign.
- 3. *Miles Coverdal* who was consecr. *Aug* 30. 1551. by { *Tho. Cranmer* in *Hen.* 8*th*'s Reign. *John Hodgskins*. *Nicholas Ridley*, who was consecrated *Sept.* 5. 1547. by { *Henry Lincoln*. *John Bedford*. *Thomas Sidon*. All in *Henry* the 8*th*'s Reign.
- 4. *John Scorey*, who was consecrated with *Coverdal*.

Thus, Sir, have I discharg'd your Requeſt; and short as I could, have I set the Fable of the *Nagg's Head* in a true Light; This Account has fully satisfy'd me of that Great and Popish Imposture; and I hope, will you, and all others that will condescend to peruse this Letter. I expect, that the Papists will be very angry at the Discovery of the Cheat; but that I mind not: For the Reformed Church of *England*,

m ready to undergo whatever my Adverſaries ſhall
aſe to Lay on me; for I can ſay with the Apoſtle,
r light Affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh
us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory.
ile we look not at the things which are ſeen, but at the
ngs which are not ſeen; for the things which are ſeen, are
poral, but the things which are not ſeen, are eternal. And
alter a little the Words of the Apoſtle, (*Rom.*8.35.)
o ſhall ſeparate us from our Church? *ſhall tribulation,*
iſtreſs, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſs, or peril,
word? For I am perſwaded, that neither death, nor
nor angels, nor powers, nor principalities, nor things pre-
nor things to come, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the
of our Church, whoſe Head is *Jeſus Chriſt our*
d. And now, my Friend, I commit you to God's
re and Protection; and am

Your Hearty

and Sincere Friend

I. Sharpe.

ney, No-
mber 12.
720.

APPENDIX.

THE great and good Opinion the Learned World has of the toilsome Labours of Dr. *Prideaux*, Regius Professor of *Oxford*, and ...estred Bishop of *Worcester*, has induc'd me to ...nslate his Fourth Question of the Members of Church; which is, *Whether it be lawful for the ...gy to marry?* The Affirmative he maintains.

. [Marriage is honourable amongst all Men, and Bed undefiled; but Whoremongers and A...erers God will judge, *Heb.* 13.4.] Marriage there... is forbidden to no sort of Men.

...dly, [To avoid Whoredom, every Man is to take own Wife, and every Wife her own Husband, *...or.* 7.2.] because every one has his proper Gift ...n God, one after this manner, the other after that; ...'tis better for those who have not the Gift, in ...atsoever Condition of Life, 'tis better, I say, to *...ry than burn*, V. 9. This therefore is lawful for ...rks and Laicks.

...dly, The Apostle reckons forbidding of Wedlock ...ongst the Doctrines of Devils, 1 *Tim.* 4.3. because ...contradicts the Law of Nature in the primævous ...litution: *'Tis not good for Man to be alone*, Gen. 2. . *Let us make for him an help like unto him*; which ...ondly, is confirmed from the Practice of the Pa...archs, *Enoch*, *Abraham*, *Job*, and of the High ...iests in the Old Testament. From hence *Solomon* ...s, *Woe to him that is alone*; *Two are better than One*,

Eccles.

Eccles. 4. 9. It also repugns our Saviour's Conc[ep]tion: *Who*, says he, *can receive* Celibacy, *let him rece[ive] it*, Matth. 19. 12. No Man therefore can interc[e]de that justly to others, which our Saviour would ha[ve] free.

4*thly*, The Apostle, (1 *Tim.* 3. 2. *Titus* 1. 6.) clearly affirms of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, that it w[as] lawful for them to contract Marriage, as he commands every one of them to be the Husband of O[ne] Wife. In this Saying *Polygamy* is condemned. A[nd] further, he commands, how they may consult the[ir] own Family, that they may rightly educate the[ir] Children, and keep them in their Duty. 'Tis therefore lawful for them from the Prescript of St. Pa[ul] to enjoy Wife and Children. From hence, (as th[ey] say) the Rhimes of a certain *Oxonian*.

Zacharias *had an Offspring and a Wife*;
Honour he had from the Son he begat:
For he baptiz'd the Saviour of the World.
Let him perish that maintains the New Error.
Paul *was wrapt up to the Highest Heaven,*
Where he learnt many secret Affairs:
At length came back, and gave us Morals.
Let every one (says he) have his own Wife.

So *Peter's* Mother-in-law was healed by our Saviour, *Matth.* 8. 14. who also, during his Apostolate, led about his Wife, 1 *Cor.* 9. 5. *Paphnutius*, a Batchelour, in the First Council of *Nice*, stifly maintains the Clergy's Liberty to marry, (*Soz. l.* 1. *C.* 22.) *Irenæus* also and *Spiridion*, with many Greek and Latin Bishops, were married Men; and their Wives were called *Episcopissæ*, Bishopesses; (if I may so say) Presbyteressis, Diaconisses.

— Now

——— *Non horruit illa*
empestate deus Thalamos, tædásque jugales
times of Yore God did allow
is Priests to marry.———

hly, The Canon-Law favours the Marriage of
sts; becauſe ſome Prieſts Sons from lawful Wed-
have been promoted to the *Pontificate*, which be-
the Prohibition was every where lawful for
ts to marry; and in the Oriental Church that
tice obtains to this day. From hence *Leo* the
eror admires at their Impudence; who (as if
Divine Laws were not abſolute) dare impoſe this
(of Celibacy) on her Children. *Novel.* 2.
bly, This forc'd Celibacy of the Clergy and
ks introduc'd firſt, Fornication; 2*dly*, Adulte-
3*dly*, Inceſt; 4*thly*, Sodomy; 5*thly*, Beſtiality;
Nothiſm; 7*thly*, Infanticide; as you may ſee
e Viſitation of *Henry the Eighth*, in *Bale* and *Speed*,
n the Epiſtle of *Udalric* a *German* Biſhop, to Pope
las, concerning the ſix thouſand Skulls of In-
found in a Monaſtick Fiſh-Pond. (*Magdeburg.*
9. *cap.* 10.) which, if it be fictitious, 'tis the
ent of the Pope's, not of us.

Papal

Papal Objections answer'd.

Object. 1. BE *ye holy, because I am holy,* Levit. 20. And *they that are in the flesh cannot* ... *God,* Rom. 8.8. So Pope *Sircius* argues in his E... stle to *Himerius* Bishop of *Tarracon*. 2*dly*, *'Tis go... to touch a Woman; therefore to touch a Woman is* ... Hiero in 1 Cor. 7. 1. The Clergy therefore ... peculiarly are in the Service of God, ought ch... to abstain from Women.

Resp. These Texts generally, and all others, ... the Pontificians urge in this Argument, do ex... Respect both Laity and Clergy, hence We... would be Lawful to none. 2*dly*, Specially it inc... rather Marriage in the Lord, which excludes Sa... ty. 3*dly*, To be in the Flesh, does not signifie ... riage, but to be addicted to Carnal Affections. ... Good, is not here opposed to Evil or Vice, bu... Profit and Fitness. That it is the same, whi... Σύμφερον, *Commodum, & Expediens*, V. 35. From ... it does not say Καλὸν, Good simply, but to be ... for a Man in such a doubtful State, not to tou... Woman, *Ver.* 29.

Object. 2. Those that draw near to God, are ... manded not to approach their Wives, *Exod.* 19. ... neither could they eat the Shew-Bread, except ... abstained from Women, 1 *Sam.* 21.4. Wives ... fore, seem to be an Impediment to the Executi... the Sacred Office.

esp. Theſe do not conclude againſt the Marriage
rieſts; for it is manifeſt, that they at that time
e married: But 'tis only an Admonition to abſtain
their Wives, and from all other Things, which
ds Diſturbance to the Worſhip of God. *2dly*,
Text of *Samuel* is repeated by our Saviour, *Matt.*
and has regard rather to the Layity, both *David*
his Men, than to the Prieſts.

bject. 3. *Let not the Eunuch ſay, I am a dry Tree, be-*
I will give to them a Name, better than of Sons and
hters, Iſa. 56. 4, 5. *And ſome Caſtrate themſelves for the*
dom of Heaven's ſake, Matth. 19. 12. But theſe
ly have a Reſpect to the *Clergy*; they therefore
it not to be married.

ſp. They equally belong to all, as well as the
gy. *2dly*, The Prophet ſpeaks of Pious Men
out Children, not of the unmarried. *3dly*, And
aviour of thoſe that prefer Heaven to Wives and
dren, which is to be done of all the Faithful, if
aſe will bear it. *Matth.* 19. 29.

ject. 4. The Apoſtles left their Wives, when they
ted themſelves to the Miniſtry of Chriſt, *Luke*
9. *Matth.* 19. 29. Hiero *contra Jovin. l.* 1. *Wives*
be relinquiſh'd by the Clergy.

ſp. 'Tis one thing to leave their Wives, that the
ieſs of Religion *pro tempore* may be preferr'd; 'tis
ner to diſmiſs and repudiate them. The Apoſtle
oves of Separation, as to the time with Conſent,
. 7. 5. Our Saviour permits not of a Divorce,
pt for Fornication, *Matth.* 19. 9. *2dly*, It is ma-
t that the Apoſtles, eſpecially St. *Peter*, led about
Wives, 1 *Cor.* 9. 5. For it is not very likely they

would accompany strange Women. We oppo
Clemens of *Alexandria* and *Tertullian* to St. *Hieron*
who himself also confesses against *Helvidius*, th
ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα denotes a *Wife*. Wives are not to be d
ferted otherwise, according to our Saviour, th
Parents and Children. All, as well as the Clerg
are concerned, when God or our Wives are to
relinquish'd.

Object. 5. No Soldier entangles himself with Se
cular Affairs, that he may please his Commander
2 *Tim.* 24. But he that marries, is sollicitous for th
Things of the World; he that is single, is sollicito
for the Things of the Lord, 1 *Cor.* 7. 32, 33. T
therefore the Duty of the Priests to exempt the
selves from all worldly Business.

Resp. I can prove, that to marry in the Lord,
not to implicate themselves with secular Affairs; b
to get a Coadjutor in such Affairs. 2*dly*, The ma
ried Man is commonly sollicitous for the Things
the World, when he has such a Wife, who perfor
not her Duty; not universally, because 'tis neces
ry; but because it often happens. 3*dly*, This affo
the Layity as well as Clergy.

Object. 6. That which is better, is to be elect
by the Clergy: But he that abstains from Marriage
does better, 1 *Cor.* 7. 38. than he that marries: Th
therefore is chiefly to be performed by the Clergy.

Resp. This looks at all, as well as the Clergy. 2d
Melius facit, it doth better; that is, more commo
ously, in the times of Persecution, for the prese
Necessity, as the Apostle argues, not absolutely;
specially if he has not the Gift of Chastity: For
that case *'tis better to marry than to burn.*

Object. 7. The Fathers abstained from Wedlock: the Decrees of Councils Celibacy is enjoyned to Clergy, which they ought to obey.

Resp. This was not done by all; but by many, hers making Opposition) and that from Custom the Straitness of Affairs; and that from private l free purpose; not from Command, Precept or erdict. 2*dly*, Because Decrees of this nature, for- ding Matrimony, were not pass'd into Laws by Ancients; but were invented under the more ent Tyranny of Antichrist; in which things y were always opposed by sound Christians.

FINIS.

These following wrote by the same Author.

1. Animadversions on *Calamy's* Abridgment, Part I.
2. Plain-dealing against *Bisset*.
3. Animadversions against *Calamy*, Part II.
4. Presbyterian Loyalty, against *Palmer*, Part I.
5. —— —— —— —— Part II.
6. The Case of Non-Residence.
7. The Reasonableness of obliging the Clergy to Residence.
8. The Appeal of the Clergy to the Bishops, Part I.
9. —— —— —— —— —— Part II.
10. The Church of *England's* Complaint.
11. The Case of House-Baptism.
12. The wou'd be a Bishop.
13. This is the Time.
14. Now or never.
15. Non-Residence of the Clergy against Reason, &c.
16. The Regular Clergy's sole Right to administer Baptism.
17. The *English* Protestant Dissenters, not under Persecution.
18. The New-Years-Gift, against the *Muggletonians*.
19. The Historical Account of Heresie, in Four Parts.
20. The Spirit of Two *Pretenders*, against the *Muggletonians*.

All Printed for R. Wilkin.

347-3

A PLAIN ANSWER TO PLAIN REASONS For DISSENTING from the COMMUNION OF THE *CHURCH of* England, For the USE of the LAY NONCONFORMISTS In this KINGDOM.

WITH

An EPISTLE to their TEACHERS.

Sine ira & ſtudio, quorum cauſas procul habeo.
Tacit. Ann. I.

LONDON:
Printed for *J. Brotherton* and *W. Meadows*, at the *Black Bull* in *Cornhill*, and ſold by *T. Bickerton* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*. 1721. Price 6 *d.*

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TO THE

PASTORS *and* TEACHERS

OF THOSE

CONGREGATIONS

Which SEPARATE themſelves from the

CHURCH of England.

BRETHREN,

ALTHOUGH *the following Anſwer is* chiefly *intended for your* Hearers, *yet I pray favour the* Author *of it with* your *Peruſal: And for a Dedication to it, I further requeſt of you to read over a* Sermon of *Mr.* Young's, *late* Dean *of* Sarum, intituled, *A friend-*

ly Call to our dissenting Brethren. *Were this Performance answerable to* that incomparable Discourse, *you would find your selves under a Necessity of sending out* better Reasons, *than ever yet appeared, for your leaving* our Communion. *However, had I not thought, that what* even I *cou'd offer would be a sufficient Refutation of your* plain Reasons, *I should have employed my self another Way.*

I have nothing more to add, but my hearty Prayer, That the Love of God *may constrain us to preserve the* Unity of Faith in the Bond of Peace: *And, that we may duly observe and practise the most pathetical Exhortation of the* Apostle, *that ever was made to that Purpose.*

Phil. 2. 1. 2, 3. If there be any Consolation in Christ, if any Comfort of Love, if any Fellowship of the Spirit, if any Bowels and Mercies; fulfill ye my Joy, that ye be like-minded, having the same Love, being of one Accord, of one Mind: Let nothing be done through Strife or Vain-Glory, but in Lowliness of Mind let each esteem other better than themselves.

I am,

SIRS,

Your Well-wisher in Christ Jesus.

A

A Plain ANSWER TO *Plain REASONS*, &c.

THE Pamphlet under Consideration, has, (if I may believe the Title-Page) already been ushered into the World in *Thirteen* Editions: So that I look upon it as a valuable Piece among the *Dissenters*, which has their general Approbation: And lest they should think it *unanswerable* also, I have given my self and them this Trouble; being more and more confirm'd in an Opinion, that our *Dissenting* Congregations are in a great measure compos'd of the more *ignorant* and *superstitious* part of Men among us, whom I deny not to have *a Zeal towards God*, but cannot think it *according to Knowledge*.

Were it otherwise, they could not be impos'd upon by what that Author calls *plain Reasons*.

Plain things are commonly beſt, if good in their kind, but theſe *Reaſons* happen to be neither *true* nor *ſufficient* to the Cauſe they are brought to maintain; and why he addreſſes himſelf to the *moderate* Church of *England* Men I cannot imagine; unleſs by *moderate* he means ſuch Church-men as know not *why* they are ſo, nor *how long* they ſhall continue ſo, and then it will appear that theſe Reaſons are not ſo much for the Defence of his own Party, as an Invitation to others to deſert theirs.

In the Preface the Reaſoner owns, that

Page 3. *Schiſm is an heavy Charge laid upon Diſſenters; and that many of them know not how to clear themſelves of that Charge*

(An Acknowledgment frank and true enough) *and therefore he deſigns to plead their Cauſe, and inform the more moderate*, as he ſays, *of the Church of* England-men, *that they do not diſſent from the Church of* England, *out of Stubbornneſs, or becauſe they love Contention* (either of theſe in his own Senſe would juſtify the Charge) *but from a tender Conſcience*, which it ſeems makes a mighty Alteration in the Caſe. The Words thrown into a Propoſition will ſignify thus much. *A tender Conſcience* takes off or abates the Charge of Schiſm laid upon *Diſſenters* by ſome of the *Church of England*. This is doing Buſineſs, if he can make it out, but

Pſal. xi. 3. if this very *Foundation be deſtroyed, and a tender Conſcience* which is brought to *juſtify*, be found in the Nature of it to *con-*

demn

emn Separation from a Church that requires o *ſinful Terms* of Communion, and whoſe Arcles are agreeable to the Word of God; If this ſay be made appear, we may hope to ſee the riſer and more conſiderable among them, reirn to the Church they have unhappily forſaen.

They who have treated of *Conſcience* have ſually done it ſo magnificently, have given it ich great and pompous Titles, as *Domeſtic Deity*, *Tutelar Genius*, *God's Vicegerent*, and ne like; that a great many People are made to *wonder* at it, rather than *underſtand* what it eally is: and in ſuch Circumſtances they are enerally extravagant, and are apt to attribute o it, more than is its due. We will therefore s briefly as poſſible inform our ſelves to what neaſure this diſguiſed overgrown Power is to e reduced, and then enquire into its Qualities, f which we confeſs *Tenderneſs* to be one.

Conſcience in a Chriſtian Senſe is a firm Perwaſion or Belief, that what we do is agreeable o the revealed Will of God, for *Revelation* nuſt be the *Rule* of *Conſcience*: So that altho' *Conſcience* muſt approve, yet is it not a *Director* of it ſelf, but tells us only what it has received of another. Hence then it follows, that if *Conſcience* it ſelf is to be *directed* and *governed*, moſt or all of thoſe pompous Conceits muſt vaniſh, that magnify its Power, and make its Authority *uncontroulable*: For want of due Information in this Point, Men have paid too much

much Respect to themselves, and by suffering their *Conscience* to *direct* their *Judgment*, 'tis no wonder they so much and so absurdly worship it, and make their own Interpretation of Scripture *decisive* and *infallible*: which is directly contrary to the Apostles Advice, *Not to think of our selves more highly than we ought to think, but to think soberly.*

Rom. 12. 3.

In holy Scripture *Conscience* is called *good* and *evil*, *weak* and *sear'd*, or *hardned*: and under these four Denominations may be reckon'd all sorts of Consciences: but it is our present Business to see under which we are to place the *tender* (a word as I remember no where joined to Conscience in Scripture) which our *Reasoner* affirms is of such Power as to justify a Separation of Communion.

I readily allow that a *tender Conscience*, considered as such, is not an *evil* one; and that the meaning of the word is directly opposite to *sear'd* or *hardned*: So that it is to be considered, either as *good* or *weak*, that is, either well-informed or misguided.

Indeed every good Man has so much *Tenderness of Conscience*, as to be afraid of Sin; and unless the *Reasoner* means, that *Dissenters* are the only Men that make, as we say, *a Conscience* of what they do; the *Church of England* surely may be presumed to have as *tender a Conscience* in that Sense as they, and as much void of Offence: but then a *tender Conscience* will

not

not be found to be always a *good Conſcience*, hey themſelves being Judges; becauſe what s enjoin'd by the *tender Conſciences* of one ſide s agreeable to the Will of God, is deny'd for uch by the *tender Conſciences* of the other ſide, nd condemn'd and forbidden.

A *tender Conſcience*, as the *Reaſoner* ays, is *willing to keep the Ordinances*, Page 3. *&c.* True, but then it may be miſ-uided and erroneous: Its *Willingneſs* is no ſuffi-ient Security againſt Error; ſo that notwith-tanding a *Willingneſs* to ſerve God aright, that eing accompanied with Diffidence and Doubt whether it does ſo or not, cannot juſtify a Se-aration from an eſtabliſhed Religion, which hey themſelves own in the main to be accord-ng to the Will of God. And now remembring hat *Conſcience* in a Chriſtian Senſe is a *firm perſwaſion that what we do is agreeable to the revealed Will of God*; it follows, that a Man f a *good Conſcience* is thus firmly perſwaded, *Acts* 23. 1.) and that one of a *tender Conſcience*, ven according to the *Reaſoner*, is ſuch a Per-on, who is only deſirous to be (but is not ſure hat he is) right and honeſt, but if his Parts nd Abilities are inſufficient, he will be for all hat incapable of himſelf to underſtand his Du-y, and conſequently fail in the Performance of it: Beſides his very Willingneſs will make him pt to doubt and fear, thereby making thoſe things *ſinful* to him, which are in their own Na-ure *free* and *indifferent*.

Having

Having thus seen what a *tender Conscience* is, we shall proceed with less Fear to examine the *Reasons* it urges in its own Defence; *Date operam & cum silentio animadvertite, ut pernoscatis quod sibi Eunuchus velit.*

Reason 1. p. 4. *We dissent from the Church of* England, *because we do not look upon it to be so pure a Church as some others are.*

Some others I suppose means the several Sects of *Dissenters* among us; and if this be a *Reason*, it is a *Catholic* one, and will equally serve any Church against another, and *all Churches* against their own: But now the *Reasoner* is to explain what is meant by the *Church of England*; and first he tells us what it is not, *viz.* the whole Nation: and who says it is? But although it be not the whole Nation, as *whole* consists of every *Individual*, yet it is *the National Church*, modell'd as it now stands by holy Men of old, who after the most earnest Addresses to Almighty God for the Guidance and Direction of the Holy Spirit, separated and reformed from the Errors of the *Church of Rome*; and was after that guarded and established by the *Legislative Authority* of the *whole Nation*, as they in their united Wisdom and Counsel thought most proper and convenient: But notwithstanding so much Learning and Piety was made use of, and such exact Care taken by our Reformers, to make it a *pure* and *holy Church*, these Men of *tender Consciences* are taught by the

ne *Reasoner* in the very first place to postpone to many Assemblies much differing from one nother, founded only upon private Judgment Opinion; for this noble Reason, *Because ey in their tender*, that is, doubting *Consci-nces*, do not know, but are pleas'd to imagine, at they are more agreeable to the Will of od, or in their own Words, *they do not look pon it to be so pure as some other Churches are.* uitable to the Reasoning is the historical part, nd this convincing Argument, *because we do ot look upon it*, &c. is to be supported by Ca-mny, tho' nothing to the purpose, and spa-ngly to be made Use of in the Cause of Truth: is as follows:

When many speak of the Church of ngland, *they think of nothing else but* Page 4. *he Place of Divine Worship: and they re strengthned in this Error, by the industrious riestcraft of designing Men, who tell them, that they leave that Place, they leave the Church God.*

Most true it is, that he who forsakes his Pa-ish-Church, forsakes the Church of God, be-ause it is a Place dedicated and appropriated to is Honour and Worship; wherein the pure Word of God is read and taught, and holy Of-ices are appointed and performed by lawful Authority; but that it is either preached, or aught, or so much as *insinuated*, that the *Ma-erial Building* is the Church of the *New Testa-ment*, I utterly deny: But suppose the Intel-

lectuals

lectuals of some People are so *tender*, *weak* I would say, as to think so, with what face can the *Reasoner* assert, that they are strengthened in that Error, by *designing Men?* This is a sly Reflection upon our *Clergy*, whom if any of them were so silly, I have Reason to think he would not fail to nominate and expose: If he pleases to do so, I will pronounce such a Man weak enough to be converted by his *Plain Reasons*, and become his Proselyte.

To sin against Knowledge, and to *teach Men so*, is such an high pitch of presumptuous Wickedness, that I cannot in Charity suppose any Body of Protestants to have arrived at it. But the *Reasoner* says, *These designing Men know that the Greek Word so often used for Church in the New Testament, always signifies the People.* Generally indeed it does, but *always* will admit of a Dispute. *When ye come together in the Church*, says St. *Paul* to his *Corinthians*, ch. 11, 18. where perhaps the *coming together* means the People, and the Church *the Place:* Which seems to be so explained in the Verse but one following, *When ye come together into one Place*, ver. 20. I do not insist upon this, but only observe, that since the Matter has, and will bear a Dispute, the *Reasoner* ought not to be too positive in his Determinations: Nor is it altogether so becoming a Man of a *tender Conscience*, to charge his Brethren with belying theirs, thereby most uncharitably upon Surmise only sending them to the Devil, with no very desirable

able Company, for *without* (says he Text) *are Dogs, and Sorcerers,* Rev. 22. 15. *and Whoremongers, and Murderers, and Idolaters, and* whosoever loveth and maketh Lye.

The *Reasoner* goes on to prove from undoubted Texts, that the true Church Page 5. cannot be *Brick*, nor *Stone*, nor *Timber*, nor *Mortar*, separately or collectively: because as he very well observes, Bricks eat not: And *Acts* 20. 28. it is said, *Feed the Church:* Stones walk not, *Acts* 15. 23. *being brought on their way by the Church:* Wood speaks not, neither do Men talk to a Post: Mat. 18. 17. *Tell it to the Church, and if he neglect to hear the Church:* Nor can all the aforesaid Materials put together, constitute a Natural or Spiritual Body, having Christ for its Head, *Col.* 1. 24. *Magna est Veritas & prævalebit!* But why all these Quotations to no purpose, unless to make the weak or *tender* Christian believe that Church-men teach another and contrary Doctrine? which I again deny, and affirm in this Point he has no Adversary to contend with. So much for Negatives.

Now for a positive Answer to *what is the Church.*

1. *The Visible Church is a Congregation of faithful Men, in the which the pure Word of God is preach'd, and the Sacraments be duly ministred according to Christ's Ordinance, in* Page 5. Article 19. of the Church of *England.*

all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

From which this notable Observation is made: *The Visible Church is a Congregation* therefore *not a whole Nation*, or a National Church: Strongly reason'd! From whence it follows, as *Lilly* has it——*Tot, quot & omnes à tribus ad centum*, are so many visible distinct Churches, because there may be in *England* as many Dissenting Congregations differing in the way of Worship from one another. But how doth this prove that the *visible* Church is not or cannot be a *National* Church? In all good Sense sure the Church established in any Nation where all the Members thereof, tho' in distinct Parishes, assemble about the *same* time, and worship God in the *same* manner, and in the *same* Words, and use the *same* Sacraments, and are under the *same* Rules and Directions; I say if such Congregations so circumstantiated make not a *visible National* Church, I own my self at a loss where to find one. If the *Reasoner* had considered the Article a little better, he would rather have observed, that the *due and true Administration of the Word of God, and the Sacraments*, are the surer Marks or Tokens of a visible Church than its being a *Congregation*: He may as well argue that the *Ephesian* Tumult in the *Acts* was the *visible Church*, because it was a *Congregation*: nay better, for if I mistake not it is called *Ecclesia*; and he has before affirmed the Church *always* to signify the *People met together*.

ether. Many Congregations with regard to a Church are but one continued Quantity or Company of the Faithful; *We being many are one Body.* And again, *As the Body is one, and hath many Members, and all the Members of that one Body, being many are* but *one Body, so also is Christ.* Rom. 12. 5. 1 Cor. 12, 12. Add to these and many more like Places in holy Scripture the Confession of the *Helvetic* Body, of which the *Dissenters* used to be very fond. Nay, even the *Racovian Catechism*, Heretical as it is in other Points of greater Importance, is herein Orthodox, confessing all Christian Congregations *throughout the World*, where the Word is rightly preached, to be but one *visible Church.* De Ecclesia Christi. As to his Quotations from St. *Cyprian*, and *Justin Martyr*, since he has not thought fit to let us know where to find them, I almost dare venture to affirm, they are either misunderstood or misapplied; and hereafter I shall have occasion to shew how little stead those Fathers will stand him in.

2. Since the Article has explained the Church to be a Congregation of Faithful Men, *The Clergy*, says *the Reasoner, know whether they act according to their Article, in admitting none to their Communion but the Faithful, or whether saying the Creed wont do.* We gather from the Parables of the *Sower*, the *Marriage of the King's Son*, *the ten Virgins*, *&c.* that the *visible Church* is a mixture of good and bad toge-

ther: Now all are to be esteemed Members of the Church, and accounted Faithful, so long as they make no manifest or open Rebellion against the Gospel: And since God alone can discover the Heart, Man must be contented with the Confession of the Mouth: This seems to be St. *Paul*'s Mind: *With the Heart Man believeth unto Righteousness, and with the Mouth Confession is made unto Salvation.* And therefore I think it plain, that a Minister ought not to reject a Man who *so confesses*, because it is in Charity to be presumed, he *so believes.*

Rom. 10. 10.

Some who have been ten Years Communicants in the Church of England, *have declared on their Death-bed, that they knew not what Faith in Christ meant, and that their Minister never ask'd them a Word about it, but only told them, they should have so much Money each time they came there.*

Page 6.

'Tis plain what *Houses* the *Reasoner* creeps into to get this *Apocryphal* Information, which I may chuse whether I will believe or not: However, it may so happen, that a *tender conscienced* Churchman may be at a loss to define that very Power of Faith which he feels; and it may be that such an Ignorance is preferable to a pretended Knowledge and Acquaintance with the Person of Jesus Christ, that can say the Creed after this manner, as some have done before: *Faith is the Lullaby of the Soul upon the Bosom of Jesus Christ:* Or, *that God crowns*

Faith,

ith, because Faith crowns God: If od put a Crown upon Faith, the odesty of Faith will come and lay it wn at God's Feet; which is a w Way of crowning, and teaches —— more lerriment than is suitable to so solemn a Subct or Occasion.

Case's Sermon before the H. of Commons, 1664, *p.* 32.

3. We must not yet dismiss our Article, *It affirms*, says the Reasoner, *That what ey preach must be the pure Word* Page 6. *God*; *not an Oration of the excellent Constitution of their Church*; *or of Passive Obedience*; *or Exclamation against Schism* (no to be sure) *a Discourse of Morality*; *or only exclaiming ainst such Vices as the very Light of Nature ndemns.* I always thought the Constitution our Church, which is built upon the *Prohets, and Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the hief Corner Stone*, Eph. 2. 20. was not only a noble opic to preach upon, but useful also, and agreeble to the *pure Word of God*; and, that it was llowing the Example of the Apostles, as they ollowed Christ, to instruct the People in Gosel Duties; of which, I still reckon *Passive bedience* to be one: To warn them against *chism*, and the fatal Consequences of it; and exhort them to think upon, and put in Prastice, *Whatsoever Things are true*; *whatsoever hings are honest*; *whatsoever Things are just*; *whatsoever Things are pure*; *whatsoever Things re lovely*; *whatsoever Things are of good report*, hil. 4. 8. But these are *quaint Points of Virtue*

tue and Vice, as my Author calls them, not fit for ſanctified Souls and Ears. *But you muſt be ſick of Love to Chriſt, O ye Saints! and let him lie as a Bundle of Myrrh always between your Breaſts: Chriſt is* maxime diligibilis, *as the Schoolmen ſpeak: He is the very Abſtract and Quinteſſence of Beauty: He is a whole Paradiſe of Delight: he is the Flower of* Sharon *inriched with orient Colours, and perfum'd with the ſweeteſt Savour. O! wear this Flower, not in your Boſoms* (they are for the Bundle of Myrrhe) *but in your Heart: and be always ſmelling to it, and ſhew your Love to this lovely Saviour.* I appeal to the unprejudiced Part of Mankind, whether Diſcourſes of Chriſtian Morality, and Theology, well compos'd, and handſomly deliver'd, are not more likely to reform and inſtruct Men, than ſuch ſweet Stuff? which, in the Metaphor of feeding, is like Surfeiting on brown Sugar; or a confident, or frightful Harangue, concerning the hidden Things of God, and the final State of Believers, which uſually either make Men Preſumptuous, or throw them into Deſpair, in which good Lungs are often miſtaken for ſtrong Argument; and, perhaps, the whole Performance amounts to no more, than *Roaring in the midſt of a Congregation*, Pſal. 74. 4

Watſon's Chriſt's Lovelineſs, p. 362.

But now *Apoſtoli*, O ye Apoſtles, *loquebantur*, look about ye, the *tender conſcienced*, hard-mouth'd *Reaſoner*, is forming a moſt heavy Charge againſt you; *Impudence*, *Ignorance*, and

nd *Immorality*, that's all, supported by the Te-timony of a huge Man, the late Biſhop of *Salis-bury*, in a famous Paragraph of his new Preface. His Words are theſe, *The Ember Weeks are the Burden and Grief of my Life:* Page 7. no doubt, for who ever thought but ſo much Fleſh muſt hate Faſting?) not ſo much that, but *be-cauſe the greateſt Part of thoſe who come to be or-dain'd, are Ignorant to a degree, not to be appre-hended by thoſe who are not oblig'd to know it: The eaſieſt Part of Knowledge is that to which they are the greateſt Strangers. I mean the plaineſt Parts of the Scripture, which they, in excuſe of this Ignorance ſay,* That *their Tutors in the Univer-ſity never mentioned the Reading of them.* I wiſh our Learning was like our *Coin*, not paſ-able unleſs it was *Sterling*; and, that none of the *Candidates* for *Holy Orders* ſhould be ad-mitted without a ſufficient Share of it, propor-tionate to its Increaſe ſince the *Reformation*: And had the *Biſhop* ſet them aſide, for not being qualified *better* than the *Canon* requires, I ſhould not have blam'd him. But I happen to be acquainted with a *learned Gentleman*, one of thoſe *Ignoramus*'s, whom his *Lordſhip* former-ly refuſed to admit into *Holy Orders* for Non-ſufficiency, and ſurely, never *Biſhop* proceeded ſo unjuſtly in a Matter of ſuch Concern. If running from *Geneſis* to the *Revelations*, and asking the Contents of a Chapter, and the Number of Verſes contain'd in that Chapter (grand Points) be fair Examination, and the

eaſieſt

easiest Parts of Knowledge, his *Lordship*'s Accusation is just, and his Charge true; if not, Mankind will acquit some of those Gentlemen of the Scandal of *Ignorance*, who had so awkard a Trial before a partial and unfair Examiner.

Page 8. Nor is it likely they should excuse their Ignorance in the Scriptures in that manner, *viz.* by pleading the Negligence of their *Tutors* to advise and invite them to so necessary a Study, since that is directly opposite to their daily Practice, and a flat Contradiction to common Experience. I had sometime the Honour of being a Member in the *University*, and upon this Occasion think my self obliged to do Justice to the Gentlemen I knew there, to whose Care Students are committed, by affirming, upon my own Knowledge, the constant Use of Prayer in their Chambers with their Pupils; their repeated Advice to them to set apart so much Time every Day for the severer Study of the *Word of God*, their Examination of their Proficiency; their Explanation of difficult Passages; their being instant for their Perseverance, and their earnest Desire of their Continuance in *Well-doing*. This is the Practice of a *Royal College*, and of several others, upon my own Knowledge also. And, I presume, I may give a Definitive Sentence in favour of all the rest in the same manner, since I never heard any Thing to the contrary. Moreover, if publick Prayers Twice every Day; if Lecture Sermons Three Times a Week, besides

des Sunday; if regular and well-order'd Disutations in *Divinity*, perform'd by learned and odly Men, are not Examples and Admoniti-ns to the Youth under their Care, to apply hemſelves to divine Study and Meditation, nay his *Lordſhip's* Report gain Credit, and *ambridge* and *Oxford* ſubmit to *Glaſcow! This*, ays he, *does often tear my Heart! Theſe things ierce my Soul, and make me cry out, O that I ad Wings like a Dove, for then would I flee a-vay, and be at reſt.* And to give im Text for Text, *In the Evening* Pſal. 59. 6. *e would return*, &c. But I for-ear,———and return to our *Reaſoner*, who ays, *Some of the Clergy curſe the Bi-hop bitterly, for thus expoſing their hate-* Page 7. *ul and ſhameful Ignorance and Idleneſs.* Unleſs he has heard their Profaneneſs, how wicked is this Aſſertion? If he has, where was his *odly Zeal* in making himſelf Partaker of other Men's Sins, by neglecting to admoniſh or reuke them: But if this Reproach be Invention, or Preſumption, as is ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected, *What ſhall be done unto thee, O thou falſe Tongue?* Pſal. 120. 3. *We believe that Miniſters had better be deficient in human Learn-* Page 9. *ing than in the Grace of God; therefore when we chooſe a Paſtor, we do not enquire who ordained him.* From the *Schools* of the *Prophets* in the *Old Teſtament*, and the Care taken of their *Education*, and the Choice which God himſelf made of *ſuch Men ſo educated*, to

go from him upon *extraordinary Occasions*: we gather, that *acquired Abilities* do no ways hinder, but invite the *Infusion of Grace*; and that the Stock so prepared by *Industry* is fitted to be grafted on by *Inspiration*. This proves what I have said before, that these Reasons were calculated for all manner of *Dissenters*, as well *Quakers*, *Independents*, &c. who allow of no *Ordination*, and cry down human Learning for *carnal Knowledge*; as *Presbyterians*, who have a Form of one: but why not that Question? 'Tis a very material one. The *tender Conscience*, which may be also a very *ignorant* one, understands this, that a Man cannot give what he has not: *How can they* Rom. 10. 15. *preach*, says the Apostle, *except they be sent?* Which makes it plain to the lowest Capacity, That he who sets up for a *Publick Teacher*, ought to have a *lawful Commission*, which the *Presbyterians* allow: So that I imagine the *Reasoner* to be of no body's Calling but his own; one who has presumptuously thrust himself into a *Priest's Office*, 1 Sam. 2. 36. perhaps, *to eat a Piece of Bread*. But of all Mankind they have the greatest Confidence, who being Men of *tender Consciences*, set up for *Teachers* and *Disputers* for Opinions. For a *Conscience truly tender*, will be fearful openly to contradict Authority, and will rather conclude that it is its Duty to *obey* than *dispute*.

We

We dissent from the Church of Eng- Reason 2.
nd, *because we cannot take the Com-*
n-Prayer Book for our Rule of Worship; 1. *Be-*
use it orders the reading much of the Apocry-
a. A very slender Reason this, when our
urch has taken such especial Care, that her
hildren shall not be misled by any thing
erein contain'd, which is of *questionable Au-*
rity: For her Intent in Reading it, is the
me with the Author in Writing it, of whom
s Grand-Son says, *When he had*
ven himself much to the Reading Prologue of the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of *Sirach.*
the Law, and the Prophets, and
her Books of our Fathers, and had
tten therein good Judgment, was
rawn on also himself to write something pertain-
g to Learning and Wisdom, to the intent that
hose which are desirous to learn, and are addict-
d to these things, might profit much more in li-
ing according to the Law: And our Church,
her 6*th* Article declares, That she doth read
hem for *Example of Life, and Instruction of*
Manners, but *doth not apply them to establish any*
Doctrine. Besides, the Apocryphal Books being
Memoirs of holy Men and Women in the *Old*
Testament, our *Church* has prudently enough
ppointed them as fit to be read when we com-
nemorate the *Heroes* of the *New*: Thereby a-
himating her Sons to a laudable Imitation;
owning her Agreement in the *same Faith* with
he *Martyrs* and *Confessors* of the *Jewish Church*:

which Recital was very early in the Church, and useful, till at last, as most good Customs have been, it was abominably perverted, *Historical Facts* degenerating into *Scandalous Legends*, for which Reason it was wholly forbidden by Pope *Gelasius*, *A. D.* 492. But if such Consequences attend not Reading these Writings now, I cannot see how they can give Offence any more than other *human Compositions* may. And I wou'd ask the *Reasoner*, whether he himself can give us a better System of Morality, or preach better Divinity, or relate the wonderful Works of Providence, or set out the Actions of famous Men, more judiciously and industriously, than the Wisdom of *Solomon*, or the Son of *Sirach* does?

2. *Because it appoints all Persons religiously to observe an hundred and fifty Days in the Year as holy Time, besides all Sabbath-days.* This is false in Fact, for the *Church* enjoyns not so many by two Thirds, if we take *State-Holidays* and all into the Account. Our *Reasoner's* Quotation of St. *Paul* is thoroughly misapply'd, *Ye observe Days and Times, and Months and Years*, Gal. 4. 10. A little share of Consideration would plainly have shewed him that the *Apostle* levelled his Reproof against the *Gentile* and *Jewish* Customs: *Days lucky* or *unlucky*, was *Paganism*: *New Moons* and *Sabbatical Years* was *Judaism*: and the *Galatians* were *converted Gentiles*, at that time *perverted* by the *Jews*; So that, as I before said, the *Apostles* Reproof is levelled against the

Heathen

Heathen Observation of *Fortunate* and *Unfortunate* Days, which they easily run back into, after the *Jews* had perswaded them to the Observation of *New Moons* and *Sabbaths*: But this is nothing to *Christian Institutions*; nor can we bring them under the *Apostles* Censure, by any fair Construction, for we do not observe *Months* and *Years* at all; and when the *Apostle* wrote his Letter, which was in the *Infancy* of the *Church*, 'tis not probable that many other Days and Times were observed by *Christians* than the *Lord's Day*, and those Times of the *Birth*, *Passion*, *Death*, &c. of our *Saviour Christ*, which he is so far from condemning, that he positively enjoins the Observation of them. See t. *Ambrose upon the Place, and the judicious Mr. Hooker, in his Ecc. Pol.* 5. 69.

3. *Because thereby are imposed on all Ministers Forms of Prayers: If it be granted (as we think there is no Reason) that our Lord Jesus Christ made a Form of Prayer for his Disciples, to be used Word for Word without alteration: Yet, by what Rule do any Men so for others, and then impose them upon them for their constant Use?* By the Example of our *Saviour*, whose *Authority* is delegated to his *Successors*, and by virtue of an *apostolical Canon*, enjoyning, That *all things be done decently, and in order*, 1 Cor. 14. 40. according to the Direction of our *Ecclesiastical Superiors*. And, if *Origen* held the *Lord's Prayer* to be a *Rule* to direct us in Prayer, as the *Reasoner* owns, *He* and *I* are both of a Side, for

that

that is, I think, owning a *Form of Worſhip* to be of *Chriſt's Inſtitution.* In his 6th Book againſt *Celſus*, he ſpeaks of the εὐχαὶ προσλαχθεῖσαι, then in Uſe, which I tranſlate *ſet, or aſſigned Forms of Prayer.* St. *Auguſtine* ſays, Thoſe Men are not our Brethren, who ſay not, *Our Father who art in Heaven:* And our *bleſſed Lord* plainly ſhew'd, that He ſet forth *that Prayer* as a *Model*, or *Form*, both for publick and private Uſe. This Prayer is twice repeated in the Goſpel; the firſt Time it is authoritatively enjoyn'd, the ſecond it is repeated at the Diſciples requeſt. The Commemoration of the *Kingdom*, and eternal *Power* of God, was, in the *Jewiſh* Church, the *Antiphon*, or *Reſponſe* of the People, after the Prieſt had done praying, as it is at preſent in the *Romiſh:* So that our Saviour's ſubjoyning this Doxology, *viz. For thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory*, &c. ſhew'd that *Form* to be for publick Uſe, as the manner of the *Temple* then was: But when His Diſciples ask'd him to teach them to pray privately, He gives them the *ſame Prayer* without the Doxology, after the *Jewiſh* Cuſtom, which was, in private, to uſe it only *mentally*: Add to all this, That the Diſciples asked *Jeſus* to teach *them* to pray, as *John* taught *his* Diſciples; which was like the reſt of the *Rabbi*'s, to give them a *Form* to uſe *daily*, *verbatim*, in *expreſs Terms. The Spirit of Grace and Supplication*, Zech. 12. 10. is utterly miſunderſtood by the *Reaſoner*; for the following Words, *They ſhall look*

look on me whom they have pierced, do shew, That they have no manner of regard to any Thing, but the Repentance and Restoration of Jerusalem, by the Grace of God, and their returning to him with (not *extempore*) *Supplications*. The Prophet is prophecying of the Return of *Judah*, and the Repentance of *Jerusalem*, and says, *Zech.* 12. 10. *In that Day I will pour upon the House of* David, *and upon the Inhabitants of* Jerusalem, *the Spirit of Grace and of Supplication, and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only Son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first Born.* If *Grace* and *Supplication* here belong to *extempore Prayers*, so must *Mourning* and *Bitterness* likewise, and that in such a lamentable manner, as plainly, at present, is applicable to no Body of Dissenters in the World; for, says the Text, *All the Families of them shall mourn greatly, every Family apart, and their Wives apart.*

Now for a notable Piece of *Reasoning*, *If we tye up our selves to Forms, how can we say with St.* Paul, *Rom.* 8. 26. *We know not what we should pray for as we ought: They that pray by a Book know to a Word what they shou'd pray for.* Take the whole Verse and judge: Likewise also *the Spirit helpeth our Infirmities: For we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit it self maketh Intercession for us.* Wherein? not so much in discovering

to

to us *what we want*, as *how*, and in *what manner*, we ſhould ask for it. *As we ought*, that is, *in verbis digne conceptis*, in proper Language; but ſince it is not in Man, with all his Knowledge, and Eloquence, and Premeditation, to ſpeak any Thing worthy of God to hearken to (much leſs when he talks *at Random*) therefore it follows, *The Spirit maketh Intercеſſion for us.* The *Emphaſis* is not upon *what we ſhould pray for*, but upon, *as we ought*. The Original runs thus, *What we ſhould pray as we ought, we know not*, which has no reference to the Matter of our Petitions, but to the *Manner*, the *Language*, in which we offer them to God: Let us leave out the Word *for*, which is not in the *Greek*, and the Text can have no other Interpretation than what I contend for, namely, Our Incapacity to make a Petition to God, in Words, worthy of *themſelves*, to be brought before the Lord. I can ſcarce help thinking but the *Reaſoner* knows this, and then his Divinity is a *pious Fraud*, which none but a *Church* he pretends to abominate, will practiſe and juſtify; I mean the *Church* of *Rome*; and how he approves of ſuch Methods, the Three perverted Texts under this ſecond *Reaſon* do ſufficiently ſhew.

We never read in all the Word of God, of any ſuch Cuſtom as praying by Book, tho' we read of the Prayers of Abraham, Jacob, Job, Moſes, Samuel, &c. What then? If the People were taught, and got by heart what they ſhould pray,

ray, is not that all one as praying by *Book*, or *Form*? The Men he instances in were most of them divinely *inspired*, and what they so utter'd was not *pro re nata* only, but to *remain* among their Hearers, to be made use of by them and their Posterity. See *Deut.* 31. 22. *Kings* 17. 28. 1 *Chron.* 23. 13. When the People were thus taught to say their Devotions by Heart, what need of Books? Which our *Reasoner* very judiciously remarks, *they did not pray by*, because *when they pray'd, their Eyes were either clos'd, or lifted up to Heaven*; his Instance of *Jonah* he is pretty safe in; and, I gladly allow, He could not well *pray by Book* in the Place of his Confinement, and, perhaps, his Eyes might be closed too, considering the little Use he had for them, and the Saltness of the Water.

The History of the Three first Centuries, says the *Reasoner*, *speaks not one Word of Composed Prayer*, &c. What History is that? I am sure *Tertullian*, whom I take to be a Father of the first or second Century, says, That our *Lord* appointed his Disciples of the New Testament, a *new Form of Prayer*: *Novam Orationis formam determinavit*; and St. *Cyprian*, whom I look upon to be another, says, *Christ* himself gave us a *Form of Prayer*: And these two positive Testimonies may, I think, for the present, stand good against an uncertain Passage of I know not what

De Orat. Dom.

De Orat.

Historian, till the *Reasoner* pleases to tell us his Name.

The Forms of Prayer, and Book of Homilies, were both compos'd to help the poor Tools of Priest, at our first coming off from Popery: As they now stand 'tis true, but this Assertion seems to point our the *beginning* of *Forms* of *Prayers* and *Homilies* to have been at the *Reformation*; whereas it is manifest both the *one* and the *other* were in use in the Church long before; the one he *himself* acknowledges, by contending just now against *imposed Forms* for the Three first *Centuries*. And, as for *Homilies*, or *Sermons*, they are of very antient Use in the Church, for in the Year 444 we find it an Order of *Council*. *That if the* Priest *be sick, or any Way hinder'd from Preaching in his* own Person *one of the* Deacons *shou'd read a* Homily, *or* Sermon, *of some of the* Holy Fathers: So that the first Use of them was *casual*, and that at the *Reformation necessary*; and since they now are to be discretionally us'd, as injoyn'd by *publick Authority*, I think it an *high Presumption* in the *tender conscienced Reasoner* thus to declaim against them, as *destructive* of Men's doing their Duty, daring to oppose his *private, ill deeming Opinion*, to the *Wisdom* of the most *publick* and authoritative *Assembly* in the Nation.

Concil. Vasen.

You see our *Reasoner* begins to triumph, and having, as he thinks, behav'd himself valiantly, and disarm'd his Opponents, he can't for-

forbear insulting, witness his mannerly Expression; in calling the Clergy *poor Tools*, — *Non ut maledicas sed ut pugnes* — And then to shew his Gallantry, he returns his Adversary his *Sword* and *acts* him again: He takes off all Objections, as the *Man* at the *Globe* answers all *lawful Questions*; both of them, I confess, with an *uncommon Capacity*, above the reach of *ordinary Pretenders*.

Object. 1. *That Promise of the Help of the Spirit of God in Prayer, is to raise our Affections, and to draw out Grace to its Exercise in Prayer.* This must be Conjuring, because I don't understand one Word of it, and so wont pretend to say any Thing to it, till I clap a Lamp at my back Door, and set up for a *Philomath*.

Object. 2. *The Way of praying by Book hath been of very long standing in the Church.* Ay, says the *Reasoner*, *But the Way that Dissenters take in Prayer hath been us'd 2000 Years before ever there was a Book in the World.* I'm afraid this will want proof, *For* Moses *was learned in all the Wisdom of the* Egyptians, long before the *Delivery of the Law*, which is computed but at 2000 Years, or thereabouts, from the Creation; and the *Egyptians* themselves were famous in their learned Men some Hundreds of Years *before that*. And whether they deliver'd their Instruction in *writing*, or *Hieroglyphick*, it matters not; for whatever teaches is a Book, whether *natural* or *artificial*; besides, if *Abraham*, &c. did teach their Children, by

Acts 7. 22.

putting Words into their Mouths, 'tis a sufficient Proof for Forms, and the *Reasoner's* confident *Boasting* must end in a disappointment.

Object. 3. *But when we address our selves to God we should use the most decent Expressions. That's true*, says the *Reasoner*; *but it is the Heart, not fine Words, that God looks at*; *if that be right God will overlook a hundred Slips of the Tongue, and hear Prayer, tho' it be as* Hezekiah's, *like the chattering of the* Crane *or a* Swallow, (Isa. 38. 14.)

Surely there has not been such *Exposer of Texts* since the Time of *Scotch Eloquence* unto this Day. *The chattering of the* Crane *and* Swallow, signify not the *Imperfections of Prayer*, but *the Distress of the Man*. *Hezekiah* was very sick, even unto Death, and in this Condition he compares his Prayers to the *chattering of the* Crane *and* Swallow; not for the *Incoherence* of them, but the *Sadness*, the *Moan* that he pour'd forth unto God in the *Bitterness of his Soul*. The *Note* of the *Swallow* was, among the *Antients*, the *Emblem of Sorrow*:

——— *Flebiliter gemens*
Infœlix avis ———

Hor. Od. lib. 4. Od. 12.

So that had our *Reasoner* understood either *Scripture*, or *profane History*, he cou'd not but have avoided so *egregious a Mistake*. Or, if he had consider'd the Cause he was to defend,

end, surely he wou'd not have thought it dviseable to give up so *grand a Point*, by wning that his *extempore Effusions* are both *npertinent and sad: If ye offer the Blind for Sarifice*, says God, *is it not evil? And if ye offer he Lame and Sick is it not evil? Offer it now to by Governor* (see Dissenters Addresses to the ing) *will he be pleased with thee, or accept by Person? saith the Lord of Hosts.* (Mal. 1. 7.) is not with *publick* as with *private Prayer*; this, that is, in *private Prayer*, rather *Secrecy* commanded than *outward Shew*; whereas, he *other*, that is, *publick Prayer*, being the t of a whole Society together, requires, acordingly, more Care to be had of *external ppearance*. The Worship of God is the most *asonable Service* in the World, and it is a art of rational Worship, that it be done in e *best* Manner, and with the most significant Signs of Honour that can be: For this eason it was, that in the old Testament God xpected that whatever was offered in Sacrifice Him, should be the *best* of the Kind, the *st Fruits* of the Ground, and the *fattest* of e Flock; otherwise the Oblation was an Ofnce, and rejected: For the same Reason, our louses dedicated to God ought to be built ith the *best* Materials, and beautified with e *noblest* Ornaments; and the Offices therein sed should be the *best* composed, and most gnificant of Honour to our Creator that we n frame: That is, our Prayers and Praises

should

ſhould be offered up in the *beſt* Language, and moſt devout Manner; not in haſty *extempore* Effuſions, wherein it often happens, that indecent, vulgar, and unmannerly Expreſſions, ſuch, with which Men would be aſhamed to fill a Petition to an earthly Prince, are offered to God, and obtruded upon the People.

The Heathens, tho' they miſtook the true Object of Worſhip, yet in as much as they performed their Devotions with the *beſt* Muſick, both of Voice and Inſtrument, with their *beſt* Compoſitions both of Proſe and Verſe; ſo far, I ſay, and in this reſpect, their Way of Worſhip (otherwiſe very ridiculous) was *reaſonable*. And ſhall we Chriſtians, who know whom we worſhip, and have the true God for our Object, be leſs reſpectful than the Heathens in theſe Circumſtantials of Religion? No! Thanks be to God, *We have not ſo learned Chriſt*: We do not place the *Beauty of Holineſs* in thoſe Circumſtantials of Religion, excluſive of the inward Piety of the Soul, and Pureneſs of Life; but only ſay, Reaſon dictates that in Religious Worſhip (tho' the Purity of the Heart be that alone which can render it acceptable to God) yet we ſay Reaſon dictates, That in all our Addreſſes we ſhould do our Maker all the Honour we are able, which we do not, unleſs we do it in the moſt exact Manner poſſible. And the Manner of performing Religious Worſhip, when it is expreſſive of, and proceeds from an inward Piety, is not ſo in-

ifferent a Thing in the ſight of God, as the *Reaſoner*, and ſome ſlovenly Chriſtians, have imained: We are to *preſent our Bodies*, as well as ouls, *unto God*, which the Apoſtle tells us, *is ur reaſonable Service*; and this inſtructs us to ſe a *lowly* Behaviour, and *decent* Geſture, efore him. We are to *Honour God with our ubſtance*; and one Branch of this is, to come efore Him in *comely* Ornaments, and *elegant* pparel; and if we are to Honour Him with ur Mouth, ſurely the *juſteſt* Expreſſions, and *eſt* compoſed Words, will be found to be the eaſonable Service required.

Object. 4. *Diſſenters are liable to vent falſe Doctrines by their Way of Preaching.* The *Reaſoner* is almoſt a-ground; for now he leaves Argument, and flyes to *Recrimination*, which s pleading *Guilty* to the Charge, and only ſayng, I don't care, if I am a ——, ſuch a one s as great a —— as I; *For*, ſays he, *ſo may hoſe who keep ſtrictly to a Form*; *witneſs their laily Petition, Remember not, Lord, the Offenes of our Fore-fathers: It looks like praying for he dead:* Not half ſo much as he ſeems to be a *Papiſt*, by his Ignorance of the *ſecond Commandment*; where God declares he will *viſit the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the third and fourth Generation*; and therefore it is, that we pray to God *not to remember them*, &c. upon us their Poſterity.

Object. 5. *Diſſenters Prayers are often incoherent: So may Forms be too*, ſays the *Reaſoner*. Take

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an Instance. *Almighty and everlasting God, who alone workest great Marvels, send down upon our* Bishops *and* Curates, *the healthful Spirit of thy Grace. Must we say it wou'd be a great Marvel if God shou'd send down his Grace on Bishops and Curates?* None but the *tenderest Conscience*; that is, the *weakest Understanding*, can think so; the Preamble of that *excellent Collect* has a plain View to the Descent of the *Holy Ghost* upon the *Apostles* at the *Day of Pentecost*, which was the greatest *Marvel*, or *Miracle*, that ever was: And when we pray for the *same Spirit* on the *Apostles Successors*, nothing so proper, sure, as to remember *that Descent*, which is the plain Meaning of those Words.

Object. 6. *For want of a Form, Dissenters Prayers are sometimes very unintelligible, the People know not what they intend by some of their Petitions: So may set Forms too*, quoth the *Reasoner*; and instances in one of the *plainest* in the *Common Prayer Book*, viz. *Almighty God, who knowest our Necessities before we ask, and our Ignorance in asking*, &c. To explain which wou'd be to offer an Injury to the common Capacity of Mankind.

Object. 7. *Dissenters are often guilty of Tautologies, or Repetition of the same Thing.* I don't deny it, says the *Reasoner*, *but not half so often as they who use a Form; for they use the same Petition six, eight, ten, or twenty Times over: Lord have Mercy upon us, We beseech thee*

to

hear us good Lord: We beseech thee to hear us od Lord; and, *Lord have Mercy upon us*, &c. erein we follow the Example of the *Angels*, *in* 1. 6. 3. and the *Elders* in the *Revelation*, *ch.* 4. nd our *Litany*, where these Repetitions do often- occur, being the more *fervent* Part of our De- otion, we trust we follow likewise the Example our *Saviour Christ*, who being *exceeding sor- wful*, *went away again*, *and pray'd the* third *me*, *saying the* same *Words*, Matth. 26. 44.

Object. 8. *The Prayers of the Church were mposed by wise and learned Men*, *that better new the Work and Nature of Prayer than we do.* ow *great*, says the *Reasoner*, or *wise*, or *learn- the Composers were*, *we matter not*; *for tho' ey were Apostles*, or *Angels of God*, *if they bring any Rules of Faith or Practice*, *that have not e Stamp of the Wisdom of Jesus Christ upon them*, *e cannot*, *we dare not receive them.* But whe- er this be answering the Objection, since he as not proved the Facts, I leave to any honest *Dissenter* to determine. He ought to shew in *hat Points* the *Church of England* has *perverted* e *Faith*, and tell us, *how* those *Rules of Prac- ice*, which she lays down, are *erroneous*; other- ise the Objection is in full force, and unanswer- d. In the mean Time I must acquaint the *Reasoner*, That what *wise* and *learned* Men, *au- horitatively commission'd*, have injoyn'd us for ur Practice, has the *Authority* of *Jesus Christ*, nd it becomes our *Duty* to *receive* and *practise*, s they appoint, *Luke* 10. 16. *He that heareth*

you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me.

Reason 3. *We cannot joyn with the Church of* England *in the Order for Baptism.*

1. *We except against that Human Ordinance signing with the Cross, as a Popish Invention.* I am apt to think our *Reasoner* is impos'd upon by the third of *May*, which is a *Popish Holy Day* for the *Invention of the Cross*, not the Baptismal one, but *that* on which our *Saviour suffer'd*. The *Sign of the Cross* in *Baptism* was in Use long before *Popery* had a Name: His beloved *Origen* mentions it in one of his Homilies on the 38th *Psalm*. And before him, *Tertullian* says it was a received Custom among *Christians* frequently to mark themselves with the *Sign of the Cross*. 'Tis thought to be an Allusion to an *Eastern* Custom, of Marking *Servants* and *Soldiers* in their *Hands* and *Foreheads*; *Thou shalt bind them for a Sign upon thine Hands, and they shall be as Frontlets between thine Eyes*, Deut. 6. 8. And we read in the *Revelations* of the *Servants of God being seal'd in their Foreheads*: ch. 7. 3. & 14. 1. And what more proper, when we are *baptized* into *Christ's Death*, than to be *sign'd* with a *Cross*, as a Token that we will not be asham'd *publickly* and *openly* to profess *Christ crucified*, and with St. *Paul*, *Glory in the Cross?* And therefore it is that we receive this Sign in the *Forehead*, both alluding to the *Eastern* or *Angelick* Custom; and

De Corona Militis.

ıd alſo, becauſe it is the Seat of *Modeſty*, and we ofeſs we will not be aſhamed of: *In fronte tanquam, in ſede puris ſignum Crucis accepiſti.* Our *hurch* makes not the *Croſs eſſential* to *Baptiſm*, r the Child is *fully baptized*, before it receives ıe Sign of the Croſs; but only, when we receive into the Congregation of *Chriſt*, we mark im for His Servant, after the Example of *God* in ıe *Old Teſtament*, and the Practice of the *Saints* nd *Angels* in the *New*, as appears from the late ıentioned Texts. If it be right, to argue from ıe *Abuſe* of Things to the *Diſuſe* of them, ve muſt not leave the *Sun* in the *Firmament*, or the *Pagans* have *adored* it; nor any *eminent* *reature* upon *Earth*, for they have *all* been nade *Objects* of *Divine Worſhip*; nor any *Herb* n the *Field*, for the *ſame* Reaſon: Nay, the *irtues* of Mankind muſt be put away, as well s the *Vices*, foraſmuch as *Temples* and *Altars*, and *Prieſts* and *Sacrifices*, have been appointed to *them all*. We allow, That the *Croſs* n *Baptiſm* is only a *decent Ceremony*, neither uſed in *Faith*, nor made *Sacramental*: And I wonder, how they who plead for its Diſuſe, becauſe of *Popery*, will endure to wear it in their *Pockets*, or ſuffer its continuance in their *Shop Books*.

Aug. Serm. 20. in verb. Apoſt.

2. *By the Form of Baptiſm in the Church of* England, *Parents are not ſuffer'd to covenant with God for their own Children.* This is an Argument of the *Care* and *Tenderneſs* of our

Church, that omitting the Parents (who are suppos'd *naturally* to consult the *spiritual Welfare* of their Children) she requires, moreover, *Sureties* for the good Improvement of her Child; but it cannot be *imputed to her*, if these *Guardians* are *ungodly*, or *negligent* in their Duty, she gives them their *Charge*, and they are to look to the *Execution* of it.

3. *What they promise in the Child's Name*, is, *To renounce the Devil and all his Works*, &c. *which*, *says the* Reasoner, *is in the Power of no Creature in Heaven or in Earth to perform.* Not of *himself*, but by the *Grace* of *God* strengthening and assisting him he may, which the Church of *England* supposes in those very Answers which she teaches her Child to make; for in the *Catechism*, when the Child is asked, Whether he *thinks himself bound to believe and do* as his *God-Father and God-Mother have promised for him*, the Answer is, *Yes verily, and by God's Help so I will.*

4. *We see no Reason to believe, that every Child baptiz'd with Water, is also regenerated by the especial Grace of God, as is expressed in the Order for Baptism*: viz. *We call upon thee for this Infant, that he coming to thy Holy Baptism, may receive Remission of Sins by spiritual Regeneration. Regeneration*, if I understand it rightly, comprehends these two Things, *Remission of Sins*, and *putting on Christ.* If I prove *both these* to be done by Baptism, then every baptiz'd Child is regenerate, notwithstanding the *Reasoner's Belief* to the *contrary.* In *Acts* 2. 27.

St.

St. *Peter* exhorts the *Jews* to be *baptiz'd* in the Name of *Jesus* for the *Remission of Sins*, and thereupon promises them the *Gift* of the *Holy Ghost*. This is one Branch of *Regeneration by Baptism*. The *other* I prove by St. *Paul* to the *Gal.* 3. 27. *As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.* And in another Place, *Tit.* 3. 5. *The same Apostle directly* calls *Baptism the washing of Regeneration*. And I am mistaken, if either Scripture, or scriptural Men, have not called the Font, the *Laver of Regeneration*. 'Tis true, in the *Communion Office* we profess *Christ's meritorious Cross and Passion to be that* whereby *alone* we obtain *Remission of Sins*. And this, says the *Reasoner*, *is the Word of God, and not by Water Baptism, nor by Spiritual Regeneration:* And hence he takes Occasion in his way, to call the *Reverend*, and most *Reverend Compilers* of the *Common Prayer, gross Blunderers*; but let him be pleased to be inform'd, That *Water Baptism* is a *Memorial* of our *Saviour's Death and Passion*, and is a *Part* of it; for this is *He*, says St. *John, That came by Water* 1 Ep. 5. 6. *as well Blood*, alluding to the *piercing of his Side*, whence forthwith there came out *Blood and Water*. So that to profess *Remission of Sins by Baptism*, and by the *Cross and Passion of Christ*, is but *two Branches* of the *same Thing*, and so our *Reasoner* must take his *gross Blunder* again, it will sit easier on him than on those *old Gentlemen*, for (saith my Author) *nothing is heavy in its proper Place.*

5. *It*

5. *It is not clear to us, nor can they shew it in the Word of God, that Children baptized, and dying in their Infancy, before they commit actual Sin, are undoubtedly saved.* I cannot help their Understanding; but if *Baptism* confers upon Infants *Remission* of *Original Sin*, and causes them to *put on Christ*, and makes them of the Number of the *Regenerate*, and places them in God's Favour; I am sure it is a wicked *Blasphemy*, or thinking *unworthily* of *God*, to assert, or surmise otherwise, than that of *such is the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Reason 4. *We cannot joyn with the Church of* England *in the Lord's Supper,*

1. *Because they order every one to kneel at the Receiving it.* It may be sufficient to set forth in the Words of the *Church*, her *Protestation* relating to this Affair; at the end of the Communion Office she says, *Whereas it is ordain'd in this Office, of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, That the Communicants should receive the same Kneeling*, &c. *yet, lest the same Kneeling should by any Person, either out of Ignorance and Infirmity, or out of Malice and Obstinacy, be misconstrued, and depraved; it is here declared, That thereby no Adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine, there bodily received, or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood*, &c. And now, what will our Dissenters say, when they understand that the Posture of *sitting*

ing was introduced by the *Arians*, who denied our *Saviour's Divinity*; and, that Kneeling is so far from *Popery*, that the *Pope* himself always *sits* when he receives the Sacrament? The Example of our *Lord* and his *Apostles* proves *nothing* by proving *too much*; for, if like them, we must *sit*, we shou'd likewise celebrate the Feast in an *upper Room*, and only at *Night*, nor must there be more than thirteen *Communicants*.

2. *Because they order the Sacrament to be administred to the Sick; and admit it to be done to two or three Persons, where there is no Church present.* We cannot suppose that the *Apostle*, when he advises the *Sick* to send for their *Minister* to *pray* over them, did prohibit them to *receive the Sacrament*, which the *Primitive Christians* did every Day. But on the contrary, that notwithstanding their *Sickness* they shou'd neither think themselves *excus'd* from *their Duty*, nor be *debarred* the *Exercise* of it. *Eusebius* mentions the *Holy Sacraments*, being sent to a *sick Person* by a Boy (the Priest at that Time being sick also) for which Reason it obtain'd the Name of a *Viaticum, a Provision for the Way they were going.* Eccl. Hist. 6. 36. *See also* 77 & 78 Can. Concil. Carth. 4.

This *Ordinance*, *says the* Reasoner, *shou'd be administer'd only in the Church.* Now who's for Walls? I always thought the Church *itinerant* as well as *local*, and, that where *two or three were gather'd together* in the Name of *Christ*, there was the *Church*, and

He

He in the *midst* of it. In his 5th Page the *Reasoner* mentions a *Church in a House*, 1 Cor. 16. 19. which he now seems to have forgotten. And when a *Church* is regularly form'd, what hinders the *Performance* of the *Offices* thereto belonging: So that unless he can prove *Sickness* to be an *unrepented Crime*, he can never be able to *disqualify* the *Infirm* from *receiving the Sacrament*, even in their *own Houses*. I could, moreover, instance in a famous *dissenting Teacher*, of as *good Abilities* as our *Reasoner*, who has given up this Point, by suffering this Sacrament to be administer'd very lately in a *private House* to a *Gentleman* since deceas'd.

Page 16. 3. *Because Persons are allow'd to come to the Holy Ordinance to qualify themselves for Places of Trust or Profit.* I shall not follow a *great Example*, in finding Fault with my Superiors, where what they have enjoyn'd is not *morally Evil*. The learned *Dean of Chichester* has set this Matter in a clear Light, and fully justified the *Legislature* herein. I only add, I see no *Profanation* hereby, since it is made a *Test* only according to its *Original Design and Institution*, viz. Of *Love* to *Christ*, and *Charity* to the *Brethren*.

See his Account of the Corporation and Test Acts.

Page 16. 4. *Because they admit any Person that desires it, and invite all on God's behalf: How this is done*, says the *Reasoner*, *in God's behalf, we are at a loss, till we find a Warrant for it in the Word of God.* I took the *Parable* of the *Net*

Vet thrown into the Sea; the Tares and the Wheat; the gathering together of the Good and he Bad, by the expreſs Order of the King, to he Marriage Feaſt, were Warrants ſufficient or a *general* Invitation: If Perſons come *unrepar'd*, look they to it; the Fault is not the *nviters*, who adviſe all to abſtain, and forear coming, on *ſevere Penalties*, who have not *xamin'd themſelves, and truly repented* them f all their *former Sins*, and *ſtedfaſtly* purpoſed *o lead a new Life, and have a lively Faith in* od's *Mercy through Chriſt, with a thankful emembrance of his Death, and are in Charity vith all Men*, &c. So that it is *abſolutely falſe* vhat the *Reaſoner* ſays, That *all ve ask of our Communicants is, Whe-* Page 17. *her they are in Charity with all Men?* Neither s it ſufficient to juſtify *Separation of Communi-n*, to ſay with the *Reaſoner*, *Many f them live very wicked Lives,* Page 17. *wear and get Drunk the ſame Night that they ave been at the Lord's Supper, and oft in the Veek.* In Things eſſential we muſt never arue from an *Abuſe* to a *Rejection.* Our *bleſſed aviour*, 'tis probable, communicated with *Judas*, altho' he knew he would immediately ommit the moſt *flagitious Piece of Wickedneſs n the World:* And if ever there was a *Dog*, in the *Reaſoner*'s Senſe, it was *he.* So that He ſhews imſelf unhappy again in apply- Page 17. ng Texts, *For give not that which Holy unto Dogs*, means not *what* it is brought

to prove; for our *Saviour* would not have contradicted his own Advice, by giving the *Sacrament* unto him that betray'd him, if that had been the Meaning of the Text; but the Words do shew the Pre-eminence of the *Jews* above the *Gentiles*, in having the *Gospel* preach'd *first* unto them. Our *Saviour* himself thus explains the Text, when he says to the Woman, *It is*

Page 17. *not meet that ye take the Children's Bread, and throw it to the Dogs*, asserting the Privileges of *Israel* before all the Nations of the *World* beside; so that altho' many *unclean* Persons present themselves to *communicate*, the *Office* is not thereby *polluted*, nor the *Administration* made *ineffectual*: Sacraments are duly ministred, according to Christ's Appointment, although the Unworthy do partake of them: Which, as it hurts not the *pious* and *devout Receiver*, cannot be made a *lawful* Cause of *Separation*: For the *unworthy Receiver* does me no more harm by communicating with me, than the *Sacrament* it self given me by an *unworthy Minister*, which our *Church*, in her 26th Article, says, *Hinders not the Effect of the Sacraments*.

Page 17. I shall take no Notice of his 5th *Reason*, unless he produces something better than *bare Assertion*, which wanting *Proof*, does not carry so *honest a Face* with it, as so *grave* and *serious* a *Matter* should have. Let the *Reasoner*, if he can, shew our De-

parture

arture from those *five Articles* he mentions, nd I promise him he shall not want me for *Adversary.*

We except against two Things especially in the Order for the Burial of the Dead. Reason 6. Page 18.

1. *They thank God for taking them away.* Is not Matter of *Thanksgiving* to *God*, when our *Brother* is deliver'd from *Misery?* So runs the rayer; *We give thee hearty Thanks, for that it ath pleas'd thee to deliver this our Brother out the Miseries of this sinful World.* But we *re not thank God*, says the *Reasoner, if a Man e in his Sins.* Why? Is not *God* to be praised r his *Judgments* as well as his *Mercies?* Judgments are design'd in *Mercy* to the *Survivors*, hat they may *learn Righteousness*, and surely erit *Thanks* at their Hands who so receive and ake use of them: *When the Scorner is punish-d* (says *Solomon*) *the Simple is made vise. And when the Wicked perish here is shouting.* Prov. 21. 11. & 11. 10.

2. *Nor can we say, as they do, every one, even the* vilest Wretches Page 18. *hat they bury, that we have* sure *and* certain Hope *of their Resurrection to eternal Life.* We ay no such Thing; the Declaration is in *general*; that we have *sure* and *certain Hope* of *the Resurrection*, not *his Resurrection* to *eternal Life*, which is plain from what follows, *viz. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change*

our, *not* his *vile Body*. The *Reasoner* charges *home*, but not *fairly*; *their Resurrection*, and *the Resurrection*, are surely very wide asunder; and, by considering them, he may, perhaps, be convinced, That the *Church of England* teaches no such *unscriptural* Doctrine, *That there is not one Soul goes to Hell that has the good luck to have Christian Burial.* The aforementioned Explanation shews *his Inference* to be wrong; besides, our *Church absolutely* denies that ever she buries any *Souls* at all.

Reason 7. Page 18. *We withdraw from the Communion of the* Church of England, *because we cannot allow of such Officers in the Church, as Diocesan, or Lord Bishops.* Clement of *Alexandria* imagines, not improperly, That the *Terrestrial Hierarchy* is form'd after the Model of the *Celestial*, where *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, differ from each other in Honour and Dignity, as one *Star differeth from another Star in Glory*. The *Reasoner*, from another *misquoted* Text, *roundly* affirms, That neither the *Scriptures*, nor the *first* and *purest* Ages of *Christianity*, knew any *such Office* in the *Church*; both which I take to be wrong; for the *Scripture* does make mention of *Bishops*, and their *peculiar Province*, viz. to *Ordain*, to *Confirm*, and to *Excommunicate*. The same *Episcopal Powers* we find in *Scripture* committed to others, who from the *Tenor of Scripture* we

In 6to. Strom.

1 Cor. 15. 41.

ve judge to have been advanced to the same *Honour* and *Dignity*; as *Timothy* and *Titus*. The Testimony of *Antiquity* is intirely on our side; to go back to the Old Testament, and *the Church in the Wilderness* (because we will be early enough) the *great Officers* of the Host are in the Book of *Numbers* called, according to the *Septuagint* Translation, ἐπίσκοποι; the *same Name* which St. *Peter* calls our Saviour, *viz.* the *Bishop* or Superintendant. I bring this to shew, That since the *Name* was a *Name* of *Superior Office* and *Dignity*, even *before* Christianity, the Primitive Christians, 'tis likely, could not but know such *Office* which the *Reasoner* denies, because He says *it was not an Office in the Church*; and I prove it was, by appealing to

Chap. 31. 14.

1 Pet. 2. 25.

Clemens Romanus, perhaps the earliest *Ecclesiastical Writer* since the Apostles, (whom our *Reasoner* instances in to prove, That *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were the same) who in his first *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, which the very learned Archbishop *Usher* allows to be *genuine*, written within Forty Years after our *Lord's Ascension*, mentions *Bishops* to have been *then* of *antient* standing. *Ignatius*, another *Father* of the *first Century*, puts the Matter out of all doubt, in *all* his *Epistles* speaking of the *Bishop* as one of the *superior Order*. Take One or Two for all. In his *Epistle* to the *Church* at *Smyrna*, after warning them

Page 19.

them againſt *falſe Teachers*, and *Schiſmaticks*, do *all of you*, ſays he, *follow your* Biſhop, *as* Jeſus Chriſt *follow'd the* Father, *and follow the* Preſbytery *as the* Apoſtles, *and reverence the* Deacons *as attending upon holy Things*. To the *Epheſians* he writes thus, *Be obedient to the* Biſhop *and to* (not *or* to) *the* Presbytery, which puts a *manifeſt* Difference between the *Two* Orders. The *Apoſtolical Canons* attributed to the *Reaſoner*'s *Clemens*, are full of the Diſtinction, and *Superior Honour* and *Dignity* of *Biſhops*, in that part of them which are *not ſuſpected*: Theſe, and a *Thouſand* other Inſtances, from the *Fathers* of the *Three firſt Centuries*, might be given to prove the *Apoſtolical* Inſtitution of *Biſhops*, as they *now* ſtand in the *Church* (except their Temporalities) maugre all the *weak* Efforts of *Salmaſius*, and the *wicked Ones* of our Country Man *Blondell* to the contrary: All which, beſides *collateral Evidence*, I am ready to produce, if the *Reaſoner* ſhall give me a more proper Opportunity than what falls within the Compaſs of this *Pamphlet*. Here I ſhall only ſubjoin what I take to be the miſtaken *Reaſon*, whereon is built the ſuppoſed *ſcriptural Identity* of *Presbyters* and *Biſhops*; *Presbyter* is a Name of *Age*, *Biſhop* of *Office*, and this Office, being *generally* conferr'd on Perſons of *advanc'd Years*, or *Experience*, that is on *Presbyters*, it came to paſs, that in the *Apoſtles Epiſtles*, and elſewhere, the Name of *Presbyter* is ſometimes uſed to ſignify the *ſame* as *Biſhop*:

p: But it does by no means follow, that be-
uſe theſe Significations of *Biſhop* and *Presbyter*
ere ſometime *promiſcuouſly blended*, therefore
ey *never were*, nor *muſt be*, *diſtinct*, any
ore than *Flavus*, or *Purpureus*, muſt ceaſe to
nify the *particular diſtinct Colours* of *Yellow* or
urple, becauſe common Uſage has brought
iem to expreſs any Thing that is *beautiful*,
handſome, or *graceful*, or *venerable*. I re-
ommend to our *Reaſoner* the Conſideration of
is Matter, and when he has well weigh'd it,
e may, if he pleaſes, let me hear farther from
im.

We Diſſent, becauſe we cannot allow that the Biſhop or Patron wou'd impoſe a Paſtor upon any Pariſh, without the Conſent, or Choice of the People, &c. This *Reaſon*, ſurely, will never juſtify a *Separation*, becauſe we have a great Number of Pariſhes, where the *People*, as they wou'd have it, do chooſe their own *Miniſter*; as does almoſt every *Pariſh* in *England*, where there is an *Afternoon Sermon*: But is this Cuſtom grounded upon the *Word of God?* Nothing leſs: So then, it ſeems, the Diſſenters can take up *a Cuſtom*, as *Cuſtom*, as well as their Neighbours; but the Inconvenience of *popular Elections* ſoon pleaded for its being laid aſide; while one was for *Paul*, another for *Apollos*, a third for *Cephas*, *were they not Carnal?* And how ought ſuch Things to be continued in the *Church?* Who ſo proper to

Reaſon 8. Page 19.

pro-

provide for the *Flock* as the *Bishop* of that Flock? Or, Who more *likely* to provide a fit and *able Man* for the Church, than *he* who has had *Zeal enough* to *build one*, upon which the *Right* of *Lay Patronage* was, as I take it, *originally* founded? That the People did formerly *consent*, is true; but that they did *sui juris nominate*, and *appoint*, is what our *Reasoner* will hardly make appear. Page 20. and, sure he is not in earnest, when he says, in the *Primitive Church* the *People* did *propose*, *name*, *elect*, and *decree*: And to prove it, thus says he, a Thousand Years after *Christ's Ascension* (that is, I suppose, in the *Primitive Church*) *the Council of* Nice *decreed*, That if any *Bishop* decease, any other *reconciled* to the *Church* may be admitted, provided *they be worthy*, *and the People do choose them*. I must inform my *Reader* first, This was not a *Decree* of that *Council* for a *standing Rule* to future Times, as the *Canons* were, nor is it to be found among them. But it is a Passage out of their *Synodical Epistle*, to those of *Alexandria* and *Ægypt*, relating to a *particular Case*; so that, although at first sight it looks as if the *Council* had declared the *Right* of *Election* to be in the *People*, we shall upon a fair Examination find it to be *quite otherwise*.

The Case was as follows. The *Council* declares their Tenderness towards those that had been made *Bishops* and *Priests* in the *Meletian Schism*, allowing their Orders upon due Sub-

mission

iſſion, but not ſuffering them to exerciſe any *uriſdiction* to the Prejudice of *thoſe* in *Poſſeſſion*; t if any *Biſhops* died, thoſe *Meletian Biſhops* ight ſucceed, with theſe three *Proviſoes*.

Firſt, That they be *judged worthy*. By whom? y the *People?* No certainly, for then there ad been no need of the following Clauſe, *viz. And the People chuſe them:* Therefore this *udgment* belonged to the *Biſhops* of the *Pro-ince*, according to this Order.

The *Second* Condition is, *If the People chuſe em:* What People? The *Meletian* Party? o; they were excluded, becauſe of their being *Schiſm*, from having any Thing to do in the hoice, although they were *admitted* to *Com-union*. They are forbidden in the *Epiſtle* we re ſpeaking of, To *put up the Names of Perſons be choſen, or to hold up their Hands*; and ſo all ight of *Suffrage*, as I ſaid before, was taken om them on account of their *Schiſm:* So that hat *Right of Choice* was in the *People*, was nly in the *ſound* and *untainted Party*; and after ll it was no more than a *Nomination* by the eople, for the *true Right* of *Election* was ſtill the *Biſhops*.

Becauſe, *Thirdly*, All this ſignified nothing vithout the Conſent of the *Biſhop* of *Alexandria*, which was the third *Proviſo*.

And now I ask, Whether the *Reaſoner* has lealt ingenuouſly, by mentioning *that part* of he *Epiſtle* only which *ſeems* to make for the *Right* of *Election* in the *People*, and leaving

out the *other Two*, which reduce it to a bare *Nomination only*, the *Meletian* Party too excluded? Wou'd those among us who contend for *popular Elections*, like them upon those Terms? And these are the very Terms of the *Nicene Council*, which the *Reasoner* has mistaken to be of his Side. It is one Thing for the *People* to *nominate* and *propose* Persons to be chosen; and another, for them to have the *Right* of *Election*: And it is one Thing, for a Person chosen to have the *Consent* of the *People* (as the *Clergy* of the *Church of England* have) and another, for them to have the *Power* to *reject* him, because he doth not please them. And again, it is one Thing for the *People* to be allowed to enjoy *some Privileges*, till the Inconveniencies of them have made them be taken away by *just Laws*; and another, for them to *challenge* such a *Right* as *inherent in themselves*, and without which there lies no Obligation on them to submit.

If these Things were better understood, it would allay some Mens Heats about these Matters; for granting, That in the Time of the *Council* of *Nice*, the *People* had the Liberty of *proposing Names*, or *objecting* against the Person to be *chosen*; and although their Consent was generally *desired*, yet all this does not put the *Right* of *Election* in them; for all that they could do signified nothing, without the Consent of the *Bishops* and *Metropolitan*; and none are properly said to *chuse*, but *those* upon whose

Judg-

udgment, the *Determination* depends, the reſt lo but *propoſe*, and *offer* Perſons to be choſen. o that the utmoſt the *People* could have by his *Indulgence*, was but a *Right* of *Nomination*, which upon *Seditions* and *Tumults* was juſtly ltered: And there can be no Plea for reſuming t, unleſs it be proved to be a *Divine* and *Unalterable Right*, which can never be done (although the *Reaſoner* calls it the *Liberty which God has given them*, which lies upon him to prove) nor is ſo much as *pretended* by thoſe who ſeem to court the *Peoples Favour*, by pleading for *popular Elections* at this Day, from the *Precedents* of former Times.

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See Stillingfleet's *Antiq. of the* Britiſh *Churches*, p. 96.

The *Reaſoner*'s Simile in this Caſe, of *impoſing an Husband upon every Woman in the Pariſh*, to which He compares the Right of Patronage, wou'd, indeed, be an *intolerable Impoſition*, but ſuits not the Power of *Patronage* a hundredth part ſo well as *diſſenting Teachers* practiſe, who generally know to a *Shilling* the Value of every *Ewe Lamb* in their Fold, and no being taken thence without their *Approbation* at leaſt, for fear of their 9th *Reaſon*, which is

Page 20.

Godly Diſcipline; the *want* of which we are deeply ſenſible of, and do *ſorely lament*; and when it ſhall pleaſe *God* to put it into the Heart of our *Gracious Sovereign* to

Reaſon 9. Page 20.

suffer our *Convocation* to *assemble* and *do Business*, we doubt not to see a *happy Restoration* of it. In the mean Time, 'tis no *Justification* of those who *dissent*, as the *Reasoner* says it is, because our *Church* wants *godly Discipline*. Where there is *no Law*, Men must be a *Law unto themselves*, according to their *Apprehensions* of *Good* and *Evil*. Moreover, 'tis ungenerous to upbraid us with the want of what *they themselves* have help'd to *lessen* and *diminish*. The highest *Ecclesiastical Punishment* is *Excommunication*, the Terror of which is wonderfully lessen'd by the *Dissenters Separation*: For can it be supposed, that a *wicked Man* will regard *Exclusion* from *one Congregation*, when he can be receiv'd by *several* who call themselves *Faithful?* I chuse to draw a Veil over what follows, because I own I am not provided of a Defence, if those Things be true, *pudet hæc opprobria*, &c. but *even so* is not their *Separation justified*; unless their being *Separatists* did exempt them from the *Jurisdiction* they find fault with so much.

Page 21.

Reason 10. Page 21. *Lastly*, says the *Reasoner*, *We leave the* Church of England, *because it hath often shewn a persecuting Spirit*. The Spirit of our Church is best known by her *Doctrines*, which savour of nothing *less* than Persecution; but, if I mistake not, the *Reasoner* has a View to the Laws in force for her *Establishment*: They are made for a *Defence*, indeed, to *her*, but not an *Offence*

ence to any *others*, that is not the *Design* of them. I am ſure the *Reaſoner* and his *Printer*, are preſent Inſtances of her *Forbearance* and *Charity*, ſince almoſt *every Page* in his Book is *actionable*, either for *Falſhood* or *Slander*; but I forbear to recriminate, being taught by the *Church* how ſo much *reviles*, to bring a *railing Accuſation*, do not againſt *the Devil himſelf*: But ſuppoſe what he ſays true, yet a *perſecuting Spirit* is no juſt ground for a *Separation*. Our *Bleſſed Lord* was led out of the *Synagogue* to have his *Neck broken*, yet did he not *withdraw* from the *Synagogue*, and plead *Perſecution*. Neither can he mention *one* ſingle *Text* which warrants a *Deſection* upon that ſcore; ſo that this is no *Reaſon* at all, but a *Schiſmatical Pretence*, which is now alſo removed by his *own Confeſſion*, for his Charge is for what *is paſt*, and he ſaith not it *ſhall* hereafter, but ſheweth the *ſame Spirit now*; ſo that *were* the *Reaſon* once good, yet it *ceaſes* at preſent, and muſt be thrown aſide as *inſignificant* and *uſeleſs*.

But I find I have miſapprehended the *Reaſoner*, in imagining he ſaw farther than I find he does, for all this Cry of *Perſecution* comes from the *Ceremonies of the Church*, which he falſly affirms, *are made Terms of Communion and Salvation*, notwithſtanding we declare them in their *own Nature indifferent Things*. Indeed they ceaſe to be *indifferent* when they have received the *Sanction* of *Authority* for their Uſe, becauſe we think it our *Duty* to obey our Go-

Page 22.

Page 22.

Governors: For whatsoever *I may do*, or *forbear* in Compassion to my Brother's *Infirmity*, that certainly I *must do*, or *forbear*, in reverence to *God's Ordinance*, which is the *lawful Magistrate*. But although the Ceremonies of the Church do thus cease to be *indifferent*, we do not *thru* *them*, as the *Reasoner* says, *upon the Dissenter* as *essentially* necessary, but *modestly* convenient only. And in so doing we do not go contrary to the *Apostles* Practice, when he says, 1 Co. 8. 18. *I will eat no Flesh*, &c. which Page 22. Text our *Reasoner* brings for abolishing the *Church Ceremonies* to oblige the *Dissenter*.

Serious and Compassionate Enquiry into the Causes of the present Neglect and Contempt of the C. of England.

Indeed every private Christian is bound in *Charity* and *Compassion* to a *weak Brother*, to deny himself some Part of his *Liberty* to please and gain him: But then it must be *only* in those Things which are not commanded by *any Law*, but left *free* and *undetermined*: In *these* Things the *Apostle's Rule* must take Place; *We that are* Rom. 15. 12. *strong ought to bear the Infirmities of the weak, and not to please our selves. And let every one of us please his Neighbour, for his Good, to Edification.* In *such* Things, I say, as are not *Matter* of any *Law*; for if they *be*, I have no such *dispensing Power* committed to me, as to break through an Ordinance, either of *God* or *Man*, to please my *weak* or *peevish* Brother; this would be *to do Evil that Good may*

zy come of it, committing *Sacrilege* to give *lms*; which ought by no manner of Means be encouraged, becauſe *God* has forbidden it. at in ſuch Things, where the *Laws* both of *od* and *Man* have left me at liberty, and at y *own* diſpoſe, I *may juſtly*, and *ought* in Cha- y, to conſider my *Brother's Weakneſs*, rather an uſe my *own Strength*; and not walk over ocks and Precipices, where I know the *Infir- ties* of others is ſuch, that they cannot follow e, or climb up to, without *Giddineſs* and *Dan- r of falling*.

To do all that I *may* do without danger to y ſelf, and not *at all* to regard what others n comply with, is to be *unchriſtian* and *uncha- table*. It is to *ſurfeit* of my *own Abundance* hen my *Brother* is in *want*: And in this Senſe ly, we are to underſtand the Admonitions of e *Apoſtle* in the Caſe of *Scandal* or *Offence*. his Times the *Magiſtrate* being *Heathen*, took Care of the *Church*, nor paſſed any *Laws* con- rning the *Manage* of the Worſhip of God: herefore every Thing was *free* and *undeter- ined* that *God* had left ſo: So that *Chriſtians* ad a great deal more ſcope and room for mu- al Condeſcenſion *then*, than they have *now*; ccordingly the *Apoſtle* exhorts them, that in all at *Matter of Liberty* they ſhou'd *by Love ſerve ne another*: And with great Equity; for he at will *give Offence* to his Brother, by doing at which he can *omit* without *Sin*, is guilty of *Sin* in ſo doing. But the Caſe is *quite other-*

wiſe

wise when there is a *Law* in being; for if my *Brother* will be *offended* unless I *break a Law* to *comply* with him, in this Case *Charity begins at home*, I must look to my *self* first, and if he takes *Offence*, he takes it where it is not given, for I do *but my Duty*. And as I may, and must, give Alms of what is my *own*, but am neither bound to deprive my self of *Necessaries* to serve any Man's *Needs*, much less to *rob* another of his *Right* to furnish him that *Wants*; so the *same Charity* requires, that in all those Cases where no *Law* of *God* or *Man* hath *restrained* my Liberty, I there consider the *Infirmity* of *another* rather than the *pleasing* of my *self*. And that this is St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, appears by the *Reasoner*'s Quotation, with which the *Apostle* concludes the Argument: *If Meat make my Brother to offend, I will eat no Flesh while the World standeth, lest I make my Brother to offend.* The *eating* of *Flesh* was under no *Law*, and consequently he should not *offend* if he *abstain'd* from it; therefore, says he, *If Meat make my Brother to offend*, if he be scandalized at me for *eating Flesh*, since I may *do it* or *let it alone*, I will condescend to his *Weakness*, and abridge my self of my Liberty, in this Point, for his sake. *I will eat no Flesh.*

1 Cor. 8. 13.

But suppose the *eating of Flesh* had been commanded by a *Law* of *God* or *Man*, and a *weak Brother* had been *offended* at it, what would the *Apostle* have done in this Case? Can we think Compassion for his *Brother* would have made him

n forget *Charity* to *himself*? No, his wiſhing *himself accurſed for Brethren*, was a token of his Zeal; but I leave to underſtand it *hyperbolically*. His nitions and Advices to *ſubmit ſelves to every Ordinance of n*, and *to obey them that have Rule over us*, do ſufficiently ſhew, That would have had regard to poſitive Inſtitu-ns, although *Human*, and choſen rather *obey* them, than out of Compliance to Man's *Weakneſs*, neglected the Perform-ce of *a known* Duty. Dr. *Donne* (as I re-mber) brings this very Text to the Cere-nies of the Church. His Words e theſe. " When leaving *funda-mental Things*, *and neceſſary Truths*, we wrangle uncharitably about *collateral Impertinencies*; when we will refuſe to do *ſuch Things* as will conduce to the *Exaltation* of *Devotion*, or the *Order* and *Peace* of the *Church*, not for any *Harm in the Things*, but only *therefore* becauſe *Papiſts* do them; when, becauſe they *kneel* in the *Worſhip of the Bread in the Sacrament*, we will not *kneel* in *Thankſgiving to God for the Sacrament*; when, becauſe they *pray* to *Saints*, we will not *name the Saints*, or *reproach* the *Saints*; when, becauſe they *abuſe* the *Croſs*, we will *abhor* the *Croſs*: *This is that which St.* Paul *proteſts againſt*.

Rom. 9. 3.

1 Pet. 2, 13. Heb. 13. 17.

Vol. 2. 145.

Upon the whole then it appears, If the C*eremonies* in Use in the *Church* of *England*, which our *dissenting Brethren* are *offended*, we of the *same Nature* with *eating of Flesh*; th is, enjoyn'd by *no Law*, we should lay th aside for peaceable Considerations, in Con scension to the *Infirmities* of others: But si the *Nature* of them is *quite different*, and th are become our *Duty*, by being *authoritativ* enjoyned us, we conceive that we give no *Cause of Offence* to our *weak Brethren*, by taining them; forasmuch as Compliance w an *Ordinance of God*, must *always* be prefer to yielding to the *Requests* of Man. A if they will separate from our *Communion*, pa ly because we thus chuse to *obey God rather th Man*; whether this be *right in the sight of G* let *themselves* be Judges.

'Tis antient *Policy* to give a *good Person*, *Thing*, a *bad Name*, or *Term* of *Reproa* which has had its effect among inconsidera People: *Is not this the Carpente* Mat. 13. 55. *Son?* And, *Can any good Thi* John 1. 46. *come out of* Nazareth? Such Sa ings prejudiced a great many People again our *Saviour* and his *Doctrine*: In like manne the *Ceremonies* of *our Church* are, by an *unwa* Page 22. *rantable Reflexion*, called *Huma Inventions*. Whereas, since the are designed for the Promotion of Piety, an are not contrary to the pure Word of God, an are agreeable to *Primitive* Practice, they ought not

not to be called *Human Inventions*, but *Rules of Eccleſiaſtical Wiſdom and Diſcretion.* Let the *Diſſenters* conſider them under this Denomination, and, I dare ſay, they will have a better Opinion of them.

If Purity of Worſhip be promoted by the removal of *Ceremonies*, as the *Diſſenters* imagine, it will follow, That the more *external Forms* are removed, the more *Pure* will the Worſhip of *God* be; and ſo the *Quakers* will come in for the *pureſt Worſhippers*, having removed *Sacraments*, and all *external Forms*, and endeavoured, as *George Fox* ſays, to *bring the Peoples Minds out of all Viſibles.* Nay, and ſo the Sacrament under *one Kind* only, muſt be Purer than the Sacrament under *both*, becauſe *Purity* is oppoſed to *Compoſition*; which is a Conſequence fairly drawn from the removal of external Forms, but I truſt, not to be granted either by *Diſſenter* or *Church Man.*

I have, for the *preſent*, done with the *Reaſoner*, and *commend* Him and his Party *to God, and to the Power of his Grace*, and to a ſerious Conſideration of *theſe Things:* The *Peace* of the *Church* (the laſt and beſt earthly Legacy that our *Saviour* left it) is not to be broken for *Trifles. My Brethren,* 2 Kings 5. 13. *if the Prophet had bid you do ſome great Thing, would you not have done it? How much more when he ſaith then, Waſh and be clean.* If the *Church* of *England* had impoſed

posed *hard* Terms of Communion, enforced with severe Penalties for the refusal, would you not have *complied?* How much more then ought you to take her *Yoak upon you*, which is like our *Saviour's*, *easy*; and like His *Burden*, *light?*

Had *our Reformers*, when they drew us off from the *Church* of *Rome*, given your *first Reason* for so doing, *viz. Because we do not look upon it to be so pure a Church as some others are*; had they, *I say*, given *this* as a *Reason*, and no better, I am apt to think that *Work of the Lord* had not *prospered* so well in their Hands; for where is that *Text* in *Scripture* which authorizes a Departure from a *pure Church*, because it is not *so pure?* That is, *because it wants some Degrees of Purity*: There never was that *Church* upon Earth, whose *Institutions* have been *so pure*, as to arrive at *Perfection*, nor ever will, unless the Doctrine of the *Milleniists* be found *true*. And of all the *famous Schisms* and *Separations*, I ever met with, not *one* hath been supported by so *squeamish* and *wanton* a *Reason* as this, *refusing to be pure, because they* could not be *so pure*. This surely, if any Thing be, is *thinking of Men above that which is written*, which the *Apostle*, in the present Case, cautions his *Corinthians* not to do. To *separate* from a *Church* whose *Terms* of Communion are *sinful*, or which has *perverted*, or *rejected*, the *pure Word of God*, or required *implicit Faith* and *Obedience*

Page 6.

1 Cor. 4. 6.

dience in, and to *Human* Decisions, or whose *Worship* is *idolatrous*, &c. is undoubtedly *lawful*, nay, 'tis our *Duty*; *For what Agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean Thing, and I will receive you.* 2 Cor. 6. 17.

This was the Case between *us* and the *Church* of *Rome*, when we *brake her Bonds asunder, and cast away her Cords from us:* And we think ourselves, nay, we are sure, we are sufficiently justified by the foregoing Text, among others. But the Case is not so between *us* and *you*; you acknowledge *our Church* to be a *pure Church*, and to separate from *such* a *Church* for want of a *Degree of Purity*, is doing *apparent Evil*, for no more than the *Chance* of an *ensuing Good:* 'Tis breaking through all the Institutes of *Christ* and his *Gospel*; for *Unity*, *Peace*, *brotherly Love*, *Charity*, which are *real* Virtues, and *heavenly* Qualifications, and as such are true Marks of true *Christian Zeal*, and a *Christian Church*; I say 'tis breaking through all these for I know not what —— nor your *Reasoner* neither; for if such a *want* of *Purity* will *justify* a *Separation*, there can be no *such Thing* as a *sinful Separation* from any *Church whatever*, because there is *no Church so pure*, as he weakly imagines, but some fault or other may be found with its Institutions: Nor will he dare to affirm, That, *those others* He speaks of, are the *purest Churches* in the World;

World; because the *best Church* upon Earth, so far as it is *Human*, must be defective, and fall short of *Purity* and *Perfection*.

This *single* Consideration duly improved, *may*, by God's Assistance, go a great Way towards convincing you of your *Duty*, to *return to our Church*, or *must* oblige you to shew better *Reasons* for the *Continuance* of your *Separation*.

FINIS.

347-4

THE ANSWER OF THE Earl of *Nottingham*, TO Mr. *Whiſton*'s Letter to Him, Concerning the *Eternity of the Son of God*, AND *Of the Holy Ghoſt.*

Deut. XXIX. 29.

The ſecret Things belong unto the Lord our God, but thoſe Things which are reveal'd, belong to us, and to our Children for ever.

1 Tim. VI. v. 20, 21.

Keep that which is committed to thy Truſt, avoiding prophane and vain Babblings, and Oppoſitions of Science falſly ſo call'd; which ſome profeſſing, have erred concerning the Truth.

The Seventh EDITION.

DUBLIN:
Re-printed and Sold by *Thomas Hume*, next Door to the *Walſh*'s-*Head* in *Smock-Alley*, 1721.

World; becauſe the *beſt Church* upon Earth, ſo far as it is *Human*, muſt be defective, and fall ſhort of *Purity* and *Perfection*.

This *ſingle* Conſideration duly improved *may*, by God's Aſſiſtance, go a great Way towards convincing you of your *Duty*, to *return to our Church*, or *muſt* oblige you to ſhew *better Reaſons* for the *Continuance* of your *Separation*.

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THE

ANSWER

OF THE

Earl of Nottingham

TO

Mr Wotton's Letter to Him,

Concerning the

Divinity of the Son of God,

AND

of the Holy Ghost.

SIR,

I *THINK I ought to give you some Account, why I did not publish the following Letter* Sooner, *and why I do it* Now.

When I receiv'd your Letter concerning the ernity of the Son of God, *and* of the Holy irit, *dated* July 10. 1719. *together with ur* Letter of Thanks to the Bishop of *Lon-n, dated* Jan. 17. $171\frac{8}{9}$. *annext to it: Tho' hought I was not, at my Years, to learn my techism; yet my Curiosity led me to read m, knowing your Reputation for Learning: d I own my great Surprize, to find so many stimonies, and some* Texts, *cited by you a-inst the Doctrine of the* Trinity, *by which had been drawn from that Opinion and ith, which you once profess'd; and which w, with the Boldness and Authority of an ostle, (like St.* Paul *himself in another Case)*

Be

Gal. v. 2. *Letter to the Bish. of London, p.* 18.

Behold, I say unto you, is " a fatal " Mistake: *So I resolv'd to look in to your Quotations, and consider your Texts; and I own also, that I was much more surpriz'd to find your* Quotations *liable to such Objections, as you will see in the ensuing Letter, which I writ soon after you came to my Hand, with an Expectation of seeing you, when you came into this Country, as you us'd to do every Year; and to prepare myself, as well as I was able, for your Assault, and not to enter into an open Paper War, knowing my own Ignorance and Weakness; and that I had not sufficiently* prov'd the Armour *which was necessary for an Encounter with so great a Champion,* as had defy'd the Armies of the Living God. *But since you have been in* Rutland, *both last Year and this, and not afforded me your Company here, as formerly you were wont; and that your Letter to me is referr'd to, in a late Tract by your self, as a full Evidence of the Truth of your Doctrine; and that many may take your peremptory Assertions upon Trust, from so eminent a Man as your self; and since I have had Leisure to examine your Quotations, and do find that you have perverted the Scriptures, and* abus'd *your Author by an* untrue *and* unfair *Representation of the Passages you cite out of them; I have now*

ver-

ture'd to send to the Press my Animadver-
ns, and what has occurr'd to me upon this
ject; that I might not, by my Silence, be
ught your Proselyte: And be-
se it is not enough to believe with Rom. x. 10.
Heart, *but* with the Mouth Confession
made unto Salvation; *and not* confessing
Lord Jesus before Men, is next to the de-
ing *him.*

I do not doubt, but your Zeal will prompt
to a Reply; and therefore allow me to tell
the Method, in which it will be most fair
its self, and satisfactory to me and others,
ho shall read it.

1. *To state your own Doctrine, and to*
ew that it is consistent *with* common Sense,
d with the other Doctrines *of our Holy Re-*
ion; which, I hope, we agree in; some of
hich I have mention'd in my Letter: For,
e the Men of Capua, *who would not destroy*
eir Magistrates, tho' they extreamly dislik'd
em, because they could not find better to put
to their Places; you should not, in an Age,
hen many redicule all reveal'd Religion, *re-*
oach that, which is establish'd *among us,*
being against " the Light of Nature and
common Sense ", *till you have freed* your
own.

own *Scheme from that Objection, and evide*
ly shewn that it is rational *and* true.

2. To justify the Construction, *which*
have put upon the Texts, cited by you out of
Scriptures.

3. Not to load me with a Multitude
new Quotations. *For that is to lead m*
to a Labyrinth, where a Man so little v
in the Fathers, as I am, will want a C
of Thread to bring him out of it; and you
not expect that I should believe they
true, or that I will take the Pains to
amine them; for I may justly conclude t
to be false, *till you have proved those in*
Letter, which I have look'd into, to be t
ly *and* fairly *stated. And since* " Those
" the Original Principal Texts and Testim
" nies, which concern this important Subj
'tis in vain to heap up others, which are
Authoritative and Cogent. Now whether
Quotations be true and fair, *is a Matter*
Fact, which can scarce bear a Dispute,
may be easily decided: And tho' if they w
true and fair, *which I am sure they are*
it would not follow, that I ought to yield
them, because there may be others, and you
self have mentioned several, which are plai
er, clearer, *and* stronger *Assertions of the D*

y of the Son of God *and* Holy Ghoſt,
Thoſe which you have produc'd againſt it:
if theſe be not true *and* fair, *it will fol-*
that you ought to renounce *that Opinion*
Doctrine, into which you have been ſo miſ-
But, notwithſtanding this Advantage,
h I have, I dare join Iſſue with you up-
his Point of the Truth and Fairneſs *of*
Quotations.

ſtly, *As you have a Right to examine*
Quotations, and the Conſtruction of the
s cited by me, (as I have done yours ;)
ſhall be well pleas'd to ſee your Obſerva-
; being very ſure that I have not wilful-
revaricated in repreſenting them ; and
fore may hope I ſhall not want many Ex-
: But if I have committed any Miſtake,
ll willingly be corrected ; for I my ſelf
d amend it, if I knew it.

ut I would not have you think, that I am
oking *you to a Reply, with any Intention*
riting any more upon this Subject : For if
t I have ſaid in Defence of our moſt Ho-
aith be right, there will be no need of it :
if in any Thing I have err'd, 'tis bet-
o rely on the Goodneſs of thoſe in Author-

ty,

ty, to whom I humbly submit my self, to b
give *such Fault, than to* repeat *it by attem*
ing to justify *it.*

Burley,
Nov. 21, 1720.

ERRATA,

In the Letter.

PAGE 23. l. 21. ε'ξ 'αὐτε̃ r ε'ξ αὐτε̃
24. l. 23. ὠναρχον r α'ναρχον

In the Quotations.

P 14. l. 22. ὑξυπηρετ̃ῶ r ἐξυπηρετ̃ῶ
15. l. 1. Ἀρχως r Ἀναρχος
16. Margin ἀγνοο῎ντες r ἀγνοοῦντες
25. l. 1. αὐτὴς r αὐτῆς
26. l. 4. χρισὸν r χριστὸν
28. l. 2. ὑπομειναι r ὑπομεῖναι
30. l. 2. ἥ r ἢ
31. l. 2. ἐτέρῳ r ἑτέρῳ
33. l. 4. ὐυ r ὢν
38. l. 1. Θεὸς r θεὸς
47. l. 6. ὑιὸς r υἱὸς

I R,

I Was ſurprized to find in the Prints, an Advertiſement of your Letter to me concerning the ETERNITY of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghoſt, before I had received ſuch Letter from you, or heard of your Intention to write it: But now I have read it.

I muſt thank you for the Juſtice you have done me, in king me with thoſe, who will not deny the *l that bought them*; and I truſt in him that ning ſhall ever remove me from this *Rock of my Salvati-* and I am very ſorry that any in this Age e made him to themſelves *a Rock of Offence.* wiſh I could as well deſerve the Compli- nt you make me, *p.* 39. and that I and o- rs did *ſhew our Faith by our Works*; then *that thy Name by which we are called would not be blaſphem'd*, at ſt we ſhould give no Occaſion for it: And tho' I am ve- far from imputing to you ny ſuch Faults if you conſider how many of your Fol- vers have *put away a good Conſcience before y made Shipwreck of their Faith*, and what Tendency your ɔctrine has to produce the ſame Effect in ners, you may find reaſon to *change once more* ur Opinion, and to conclude, that This, ıich you now profeſs, was never taught by

2 Pet. ii. 1.

Rom. ix. 33.

Rom. ii. 24.

1 Tim. i. 19.

Letter to Biſhop of *London*, P. 18.

2 Tim. i. 10. Acts. xxvi. 18. our Saviour, who *brought Life and Immortality to Light*, and came into the World, and sent his Apostles *to turn Men from Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan to God.*

But before I say any more of this, or proceed to the Subject of your Letter, I must observe some Passages in your Introduction, *viz.*

P. 2. 1. '*That what Mr.* Seaton *lately published was writ, as it were, in Vindication of my Proceedings in the House of Lords*: Now I assure you, he did not know of my Intention to make that Motion, which I did there, nor did I know that he had any Thoughts of writing on that Subject, nor did I ever see it till it was in Print. I say not this as an Excuse for it; it needs none, and I am well pleas'd with it; and I must add, that how unfortunate soever I have been in falling under the unjust and malicious Censures of the World, I never have employed any Advocates to plead my Cause; I committed my Way to God, and, Thanks be to him, he has brought forth my Righteousness as the Light, even in the Opinion of those who in their turns had been my Enemies, and *had laid to my Charge things that I knew not.* Besides, in this particular Case I needed no Defence; for surely in a Christian Assembly 'tis no Fault to be a Christian; and they themselves, who oppos'd the Clause which I offer'd, declar'd their Readiness to subscribe it, and objected only, that it was not proper to the Bill then before the House.

P. 1. 2. '*The Clause which, you say, you had a great Hand in preparing*, was never offer'd to the House; so I had no Opportunity of opposing it, as most certainly I should have done: but indeed I never saw it. Some Lords did in private Discourse tell me, that such a Clause had been put into their Hands from you; and I am unwilling to tell you how they treated it.

P. 1. 3. '*You stile the Clause which I offer'd, a new Athanasian Test to be laid upon Christians, whereas with the People call'd* Quakers, *they were to profess*, &c.

If you mean that this is a new Test, as being then first to be introduced into our Law, you are much mistaken. For all the Clergy, &c. who are to subscribe our 39 Articles, do fully and expressly assert the same Doctrine; and

all who come to and communicate with our Church, er do own the same by joining in our Creeds and Li-', or they do most grosly and infamously prevari- with God and Man.

will not say you are also mistaken in your Insinuation, this Test propos'd was taken from the *Quakers*; for n confident you *know* that it was *impos'd* upon them he Condition of their Toleration; and very reasona- sure: For when Indulgence was to be granted to enters, 'twas intended only for Christians, and there- it was necessary to have some Assurance of their h; so that it was a very ill-founded Contempt that cast upon us, as if we had learnt our Creed from akers; and I think it is so too, to call it an *Athana-* Test: For, great and glorious Champion as he was, he true Primitive Christian Faith; yet if we have no er and greater *Author* of our Faith than *Athanasius*, I all Mankind must agree with you so far, as that he not a sufficient Ground of our Faith, nor would it e been the *Rock* on which our Saviour *built his Church.* But if, after all, you mean, by *New*, only that the th we profess, is not what we learnt from Christ and Apostles, and was also profess'd by the Primitive ristians: This is the Question between us, and I come w to consider it, after I have made one Request to u, *viz.*

That you will not think me so vain, as to imagine my f capable of managing this great Controversy as I ought; d that therefore you will not determine it (I will not by the Proofs I shall produce, but) by my Weak- s in urging them; for the best Cause may suffer by unskilful Advocate: All that I promise my self is, at what I shall offer will appear more than sufficient justify me in the Faith which I profess;

d since we are obliged to give a *Reason of* 1 Pet. i. 15.
Faith and Hope that is in us, and you have gled out and challenged into the Lists me the most un- of all others, I may in Justice demand of you, and all hers, into whose Hands these Papers may come, not to pute to me any proud Conceit of my own Perfor- ances in a Subject, which we all agree to be incompre- ensible. I have never yet affected to be an Author,

even in Things which I might pretend to be vers'd in, th
I have been ſufficiently provok'd to it: But in the Ca
of God, I may ſay, as in the Caſe of Treaſon, ever
Man is an Officer; and therefore I rely upon the Cando
of Mankind, at leaſt to forgive in me, what God wi
accept, the Offer of a Widow's Mite.

I ſhall now ſtate what I take to be the true Chriſtia
Faith and what, I think, you have declared in yo
Letter to be yours.

We both agree, that there is but One God, Eternal, Immutabl
&c. *But the Church of* England, *and indeed all the Chriſtia*
Churches in the World, and with them I an unworthy Member, a
aſſert and believe, that in the Deity there are Three Perſons ne
ſarily exiſting, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, Coetern
and Coequal.

You aſſert, ' *That the Son is a Creature ma*
p. 26, 29. ' *by God the Father, by his own Will, when h*
p. 35. ' *thought fit,* viz. *a little before the Creation o*
' *this World, begotten or born after an ineffa*
p. 17. 12, ' *manner; and that the Holy Ghoſt is a Creatu*
15, 36. ' *too made by the Son.*

And you ſum up all in this preremptor
p. 38. Aſſertion, ' *That the Light of Nature and co*
' *mon Senſe is ſtrong againſt the* Athanaſian D
' *ctrine; the Teſtimonies for it comparatively few and uncertai*
' *but thoſe againſt it very many and very pregnant.*

This I ſhall examine, and hope to defend our Doctrine
againſt ſo bold a Charge, and ſhew that your Doctrine i
liable to theſe very Objections.

And here I muſt obſerve, that you are ſetting up a new
but a very improper and inadequate Rule, by which we
are to determine this Controverſy: For tho
Rom. i. 19. that which *may be known of God*, is *manifeſt to u*
yet ſurely the Light of Nature, *Fleſh and*
Matt. xvi. *Blood*, could never have diſcovered to *us Chriſt*
17, 18. *the Son of the Living God*: This *great Myſtery o*
1 Tim. iii. 16. *Godlineſs, God manifeſted in the Fleſh*, which, e
ven after what has been reveal'd of it, ſtill
ſurpaſſes our Comprehenſion.

But if the Light of Nature, and even the Revelation
which God made to the *Jews* from Heaven,
Heb. x. 1. could not make the *Comers thereunto perfect*,

but

ere needed a Second Dispensation by we are sanctify'd; are we to be turn'd *le weak* and *beggarly Rudiments* for our ction in the Knowledge of the Lord which passeth Knowledge; and as to by which we are to judge of the Re- on which God in these latter times en us, by speaking to us by his *Son*, glect the true Light, *which lighteth e- an that cometh into the World?*

Ver. 20.
Gal. iv. 9. στοιχεῖα
Eph. iii. 19.
Heb. i. 2.
John i. 9.

ever, if we must be fathoming this Abyss of the in- Wisdom of God methinks those, who attempt it, frame such a Scheme, as is, at least, consistent with on Sense, how different soever it be from the Reve- of God in the Holy Scriptures; for if

he Light (of Nature) *that is in thee be s, how great is that Darkness!*

Matth. vi. 23.

sk therefore,

our Saviour be but a Creature, how can Divine ip be paid to him agreeable to the Light of Na- Or how can we change *the Truth of o a Lye* (which is the Account the A- gives of it) agreeable to common

Rom. i. 20. Ver. 25.

And this in spight of the many express Texts of re, and the first Commandment, in *Service to one, who by Nature is no God.*

Gal. iv. 8.

no Excellency whatsoever, short of dhead, can entitle any Person to Di- Vorship; for God will not give his to another; and what the Angel said *John*, is no less true in this Case, *See it not, for I am thy Fellow-Servant; wor-*

Isa. xlii. 8. Rev. xix. 10.

. So that if he be a Creature, he not to be worshipp'd; or if he must be worshipp'd, t be God.

may perhaps give me a short Answer, *viz.* That not think our Saviour Christ a *proper* and *direct* Ob- Divine Worship. Some of your Quotations come ear to it; and you expressly say and oast, that you '*never make the Holy the* direct *Object of any Doxology at all.*' oundation of which must be, because you reckon him

P. 1.

him to be a Creature; and this Reason holds with you
the Case of the Son also. But I am unwilling to carry
Suspicion so far, because this Worship of Christ is not
permitted but commanded even to the
Psal. xcvii. 7. gels; *let all the Angels of God worship him,*
Heb. 1. 6. you acknowledge that some of the Scr
Letter to the ture-Doxologies are directed '*to the Fa*
Bish. of Lon. '*and the Son jointly*, some to *Jesus*
p. 9. 10. '*only*.

2. According to the common Sense and Notion
have of created Beings, whatever is made may be unm
Can the Son of God be annihilated? If this be too h
Blasphemy to be asserted, as surely it is, then there
Creature, who (tho', you say, he is gove
P. 23. by God as his God, yet) is in this Re
too hard for his Creator, who by giving
Mat. xxviii, *Power in Heaven and Earth* to the Son,
18. consequently remain himself not om
tent: Or, if he does, the Son is omnip
too; and then if the Son be a distinct Being, the
Two Omnipotents, which is absurd and contradict
For you say in your Quotation out o
P. 16. *mens Alexandrinus*, '*The Son cannot be o*
'*structed as being Lord of all.* The Ad
'of, *especially while he ministers to the Will of his good a*
'*venly Father*, (which most certainly he always does
especially seems to imply that sometimes he doth not
not given as the Reason of this his Irresistibility; bu
Foundation of it is, *as being Lord of all*; that is, *God*,
such he does always do the Will of his Father, for
have but one and the same Will.

But I must not let pass, without observing, how un
you have translated this Passage in *Clemens Alexandrin*
will appear by the true rendring of it, *viz.*

(a) *Neither can He* (the Son) *ever be obstructed by any*
being Lord of all, and *chiefly, or most of all, most perfectly mov*
to the Will of the good and heavenly Father.

(a) οὐδ' ὑπ' ἄλλου ἂν κωλυθείη πρὸς ἃ ἐν ὁ παντων κύριος
λισα ὑπουργεῖν τῷ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πανοικεσίου θελήματι
τρός.

in the very next Line, he is said to be (b) *begotten a Beginning*, which fully denotes his intimate Uni- *with* the *Father*, and consequently that *he* will not, *can-* r be obstructed by him; for, as I said, they have ad the same Will.

n another of the Quotations 'tis said, P. 17. *the Son is deriv'd from the Substance of the* r; and yet there is added, *that he is a made God, crea- be Father.*' How are these consistent? For if the Sub- of the Father be uncreated, whatever is of that Sub- must be so too; but to be created, and yet to be of an tedSubstance, a created uncreated is a Contradiction. presume you do agree, that our Lord Jesus was a proper, and meritorious, expiatory Sacrifice, and full Satisfaction to the Justice of his Father for the Mankind, according to this new Covenant of Grace. hen, How can a Creature (as you assert him to be) uch a Degree of Merit, as to deserve the Pardon of Men's Sins. Can any Creature do more than what Duty to do? And the greater the Perfections are, which any Creature is endued, in the same Propor- he greater is his Duty too, so that he can have no : And it may be truly said of the highest created s, as our Saviour teaches us to say, *that we are unprofi- ervants*, and add nothing to the essential Glory of who was infinitely happy before there were any crea- ings, and needed not the Service of any Creatures. ou will say, that Almighty God was pleased never- to accept this Sacrifice, you may better say, that in- Goodness might have pardon'd us without *any* Sacri- his Justice for our Sins, and with the *Socinians* deny lerit and Satisfaction of Christ; and I am afraid, I may say (as St. *Paul* says, 1 Cor. xv. *be not risen*) *our Faith is vain, we are yet* 17. *Sins.*

again; if he be a Creature, the *Socinians* seem to be right: For 'tis hard to reconcile to the Justice of he laying upon an innocent Person, an only begot- on, in whom he was well pleas'd, the Sins and the ties of us all, and the Punishment of them too; nay,

(b) Ἀρχῶς γεγόμενος.

tho'

tho' his voluntary Undertaking of this for us, and his co-
ing into the World for this Purpoſe, may, in ſome S-
anſwer the Objection to the Juſtice of God, yet it may
too great a Preſumption in a Creature, to offer himſelf
Satisfaction to the Juſtice of God againſt us Sinners;
cauſe it implies ſuch an Opinion of his own Merit, as w
not become a Creature, who (as I ſaid before) can
none.

5. By your Quotation out of *Irenæus*
P. 35. agree, that *Gen.* 1. 26. *Let us make Man*
our Image, was ſpoken to the Son and
Ghoſt; which is one of the Texts which have been
for the Proof of the Trinity: But if the Son be a
ture, and the Holy Ghoſt the Creature of that Cre
how ſtrange would it be, and unbecoming the Maj
the Mighty God, (who *hath ſpoken an*
Pſal l. 1. *the World from the riſing of the Sun unto the*
P. 11, *down thereof*) *to take Counſel*, as you expr
out of *Hermas*, of his Creatures, in the gl
Work of the Creation; which was a
Rom. i. 20. vidence to the Heathen of *his eternal Pow*
Rom. xi *Godhead. Who hath been his Counſellor*, ſai
34. *Paul*? *Or being his Counſellor, hath taugh*
Iſa. xl. 13. ſaith *Iſaiah*?

Somewhere I have read of a Philoſo
who, reading the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, was in Ad
on of it, ſaying, It was the nobleſt and moſt proper Ac
and beſt ſuited to the Majeſty and Omnipotence of t
preme God; that (to uſe the *Pſalmiſt*
Pſal. xxxiii. preſſion) could form the *Heavens by his*
6. *and all the Hoſt of them by the Breath of his*
Thus much the Light of Nature and co
Senſe could teach: And has Revelation extinguiſh'd
Light? No ſure; for whom they *not*
ὃν ἀγνοοῦντες *ing worſhipp'd*, this has declar'd to us: W
Acts xvii, not doubt but that all Things were ma
23. John i. the *Word*; but then we ſay too, that
v. 1, 2. fore the *Word was God*: For *He, that*
Heb. iii. 4. *Things, is God.* This Doctrine anſwe
Difficulties, and 'tis much eaſier to beli
Myſtery, which has been reveal'd by the Spirit of T
tho' it ſurpaſſes our Comprehenſion, than to reconci

Understanding, common Sense, and the Light of Na-
how a Creature can be omnipotent, or
de a God, or *was made God*, (as you and P. 13, 14,
Authors, *as You Cite them*, assert) by 15, 17, 36.
God, who says, *Is there a God beside me?* Isa. xliv. 8.
there is no God. I know not any. xlv. 22.

If the Holy Ghost be the Creature of
Christ, as you assert; and if Jesus Christ took the
hood into God, as we say; or into that Excellent Be-
made by God, as you say; for I presume we both a-
he was truly *Man* and that all together he was upon
One Person; how is it reconcileable to common Sense,
the Creature should form any Part of him, by whom
mself was created? For the Holy Ghost oversha-
d the Blessed Virgin, and that, *which* Luke i. 35.
onceiv'd in her, was of the Holy Ghost. Did Matt. i. 20.
who at first made Man, and could raise
wn Body from the dead, want the Help of his Crea-
to form a Body for himself in the Vir-
Womb? Again it is said, *God giveth not* John iii.
pirit by Measure to him; Did he want his 34.
Creature to assist him in his miraculous Works here
Earth? Could he make him, and yet not have him
out the special Gift of God? Could he
him to his Disciples (as he says, *I will* John xvi,
im to you) and could he not take him to 7.
elf. But the Belief of Three Persons
e Godhead (tho' the Scriptures mention them as the
tor the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier of Mankind)
us from the inconsistent Difficulties of your Scheme,
use they concur as one God, in the Creation of the
ld, and the Redemption of Mankind.

hese Things may be sufficient to shew,
much better and safer it is for us not Ps. cxxxi.
xercise our selves in Things *too high* and 1.
erful for us, nor to seek Things too Eccl. xxxi.
for us, leaning to our own Understanding, 21. &c.
ve be wise in our own Conceits, and incur Rom. xi. 25.
Censure, which one Man after God's Ps. cxxxi. 1.
Heart, and another the wisest Man, Prov. xxvi.
fix'd upon such bold Attempts. 12.

And this will appear to be more our Duty, by considering the Consequences which such Doctrines have had and may still have upon the Minds of Men. For,

1. I am confident that the Doctrine of *Arius*, which spread it self so largely and chiefly in *Asia* and *Africa*, may be truly said to have laid the Foundation of *Mahometanism*, which that Impostor built upon it: For when this Heretick *Arius* had asserted the Unity of the Godhead in such Terms, as to exclude the Son and Holy Ghost, making our Lord Jesus Christ to be no more than a Creature, which any Prophet is, tho' one be suppos'd the older and more excellent Creature of the Two; it became easy for *Mahomet* to perswade the Minds of Men, so prepar'd, to receive his Doctrine, (which in great measure agreed with that of *Arius*) and himself as a Prophet, who

1 Th. ii. 11, 12 shew'd them still *a more excellent Way*: And it was a just Judgment from Heaven to give *them a strong Delusion, that they should believe a Lye, because they* received *not the Love of the Truth*; *or rather, when they*

Acts xiii. 46. receiv'd it, put from them *the Word of God* and by so doing had *judg'd themselves unworthy of everlasting Life.*

2. It must also have as ill an Effect upon the *Jews* by hardening them in their Infidelity and Blasphemy: For as the Crucifixion of Christ

1 Cor. i. 23. was *at first a Stumbling-block to* them, who had

John xii. 34. heard out of their Law, and expected that their *Messiah should abide for ever*; so it must be no less Stumbling-block to be told, that their Messiah is a mere Creature, if they have an Opinion that he is to be the Son of God, God equal to God; as, I shall shew by and by, was the Notion and Belief of our Fore-

P. 30. fathers; and therefore, not *This* Doctrine, as you say, but *Yours* will appear a strange Doctrine to the *Jews*; and if Christ be no more than a Prophet, they will hardly be induced to

John viii. 53. believe that he was greater than their Father *Abraham*, or than *Moses*, whose Disciples

John ix. 28, 29. they are, and who *know that God spake to him.*

3. Consider what Advantage you give to the Sceptick of this Age, who deny all reveal'd Religion: For they will

think they have as much Right to the Light of Na-
and common Sense as your self; for this is the most
lly divided of any Thing in the World, because e-
Man thinks he has enough of it; tho' that very
ught is a full Proof that he has not so. Now very
ably you may confirm them by the Authorities you
so confidently cited, in the Disbelief of the Religion
which they were baptiz'd; because all Men are apt
elieve those in the right who favour their own Opi-
or Wishes; but I cannnot think they will be con-
d by those Authorities to embrace your Scheme of
gion; and then they will recur to the Sufficiency of
own common Sense; and I hope I have shewn, that
Scheme is not to be supported by common Sense;
I hope to shew, that it is not to be supported by
ture neither; which is wrested by you to a Sense ve-
ifferent from the plain Meaning of the Texts them-
s, which you quote, and of many other
s both of the Old and New Testament 1 Cor. xv.
esly asserting the Doctrine, which St. 11.
and the Apostles so preach'd *and so we* 1 Cor. i. 21.
e; being assur'd that the World by Wis-
cannot know God; that is, so know 1 Cor. ii.
is reveal'd to us by the Gospel, *not in* 13.
Words which Man's Wisdom teacheth, but
b the Holy Ghost teacheth. For *the natural* Ver. 14.
receiveth not the Things of the Spirit of God,
ey are Foolishness to him; neither can he know them, because
are spiritually discern'd.

come now to your Texts and Testimonies, of which I
some few Things to observe,

You say; '*These*, which you have cited, P. 24.
the principal Original Texts and Testimonies,
ich concern the important Subject before us, viz. P. 29.
e voluntary Generation and Creation of the
n of God, and against his Coeternity with the Father.

nd yet you have quoted but Six Texts out of the
le, and Two of them are out of the *Apocrypha*, which
deed allow'd by the Papists, but not by
testants, as a sufficient Ground for esta- 6th Artic.
hing any Article of Faith. But however, of the 39.
se and the others I shall examine by and by.

2. As for your Teſtimonies; I cannot pretend to ſo much Learning, as to diſcuſs them with you,
P. 40. as I ought: But I am aſtoniſh'd that you have dared to '*appeal to ſo many great Men* '*of our Church as you have named, for the Truth and Fairneſs* '*of your Quotations and Aſſertions:* For I make no Doubt, but I my ſelf ſhall be able to ſhew that they are neither *fair* nor *true.*

And when you have made good your Claim to the *Antenicene* Fathers, by confuting what the Reverend Biſhop *Bull* has publiſh'd of their Senſe, and when you or any Man elſe has given a juſt Anſwer to the excellent Tracts writ by Dr. *Waterland* in Vindication of Chriſt's Divinity; then, and not till then, will it be proper or
P. 38. decent to triumph as you do, '*That the Teſti-* '*monies for our Doctrine are few or uncertain;* '*and then alſo there will be no need of thoſe very many and pre-* '*gnant ones, which,* you ſay, *are againſt it:*' Beſides, ſhould they prove to be ſuch as you have cited in your Letter to me, which it ſeems are the beſt you can produce, they will be like Arrows ſhot up towards Heaven, they will fall upon our own Head, but do your Adverſary no Harm.

Among your Teſtimonies, I find Two taken from *Jews*, who ſurely are very improper Evidences againſt the Divinity of our Saviour, tho' they may be very good Witneſſes to prove the Divinity of the *Meſſiah*, when they expreſly aſſert it, or ſay what neceſſarily tends to it, as I hope to ſhew.

But as you ſum up your Evidence, ſo you alſo give me a Summary of your Faith, as before mention'd; but I am ſurpriz'd to find it deduced from Authors, who in the Places you cite out of them, aſſert Propoſitions *inconſiſtent with*, and *contradictory to* the ſeveral Articles of that Faith which you profeſs: Now either you ought to take all they ſay for true, which, if your Quotations were fair and Juſt, is impoſſible; or if you take that Part only, which you like beſt, then 'tis not upon their Authority that you do it; for their Authority is as ſtrong for one Part as the other; but you chuſe what ſuits with your Notions, which you had taken up from ſome other Reaſons, perhaps your *Light of Nature*, or *your common Senſe*; and the moſt, that theſe Authorities can ſignify, is to countenance you in your Opinions

and yet they can be but of little Uſe even to this, if be inconſiſtent with themſelves, as will appear by e Inſtances.

You will take it ill, if I ſhould not allow that the timonies you have quoted, did aſſert that the Son of l was a *Creature*, *made*, *begotten* by the *Will* of his *Father*, *eated*; ſo I need not mention them here: And for the ent, till I come to examine them, let it be granted. ut of theſe very Teſtimonies ſome do likewiſe aſſert,

him to be God	P. 13.
e was a true *God*, *or* truly *God*	14.
od produced a Spirit like *unto* himſelf, *who*	19.
ld be endued with the Powers *of God the Fa-*	
he Son alone is honoured with the Paternal	36.
nity.	
od the Word.	20.
ou your ſelf ſpeaking of the Place in	37.
Hebrews, of the *Eternal Spirit*, do ſay, *per-*	
s this Place belongs to the Divine Nature or Word it ſelf in Chriſt.	
nd you ſtile him, *our Lord and God Chriſt*	32.
s.	
nd you argue out of *Euſebius*, *That the Holy*	36.
ſt is not God, becauſe he did not receive	

Generation from the Father: The Conſequence of which gument is, that *Chriſt muſt be God*, becauſe he did receive *Generation from the Father.*

Now that the Son of God ſhould be *truly* God, the *true* od; that the *Divine Nature*, the very *paternal* Dignity uld be in him; that he ſhould have *all* the Powers of od the Father, and yet be only a *Creature*, is what I can- poſſibly underſtand or reconcile, but muſt leave it to ur common Senſe.

A made God, as you ſtile him from *Origen*;	P. 17.
an *only begotten God*, from *Euſebius*, in the	
nſe which you give it, *viz. the ſame as crea-*	P. 24.

, may become the Heathen Mythology d Theogony, tho' the wiſeſt even of them contemned And is it to be tranſplanted into Chriſtianity?

What

What you quote out of *Epiphanius*, of *Origen's* Opinion shews plainly, that he thought it very absurd, perhaps impious. 'For, says 'he, *when* Origen *says the Son is a* made *God*, 'he *plainly determines, that he is but a* created *Being*; *and this* 'Epiphanius *justly censures, by calling it a* bold *Attempt upon* 'God. P. 17.

I do not pretend that all *Origen's* Opinions can be defended, he was a great *Platonist*; and as they were some of the first who embraced Christianity, so they were also some of the forwardest to corrupt the Simplicity of it, by grafting into it some of their Notions. But in this Particular before us, tho' *Epiphanius*, who wrote above a Hundred Years after the Death of *Origen*, charges him with this Opinion, yet *Pamphilus*, who liv'd in or near the Time of *Origen*, and wrote an Apology for him declares *Origen's* Sentiments of the Trinity as Orthodox, and in Terms as plain, as afterwards the *Nicene* Council and *Athanasius* himself expres'd the Doctrine which we now profess; and if the Writings of *Origen* were corrupted even in his own Time, as he himself complains they were, they might be much more so after his Death. And *Pamphilus* who was himself a Martyr may justly be presum'd to state truly, as well as to know better what the Opinions of *Origen* were than *Epiphanius*, for the Reason I have mention'd. Besides, if those Tracts of *Origen*, which, by your Quotations out of them, you acknowledge to be genuine, do furnish me with Passages *plainly* and *clearly* expressing the Doctrine of the Trinity; and if your Quotations out of him to support the contrary, do not amount to it, or are not *fairly* and *truly* represented by you, as I hope to shew; then I may conclude that *Origen's* Opinion is more truly stated by *Pamphilus* than by *Epiphanius*; and that you have very ill supported *Epiphanius's* Charge against him.

Epist. ad Char. in Alexandria, *annex'd to* Pamphilus's *Apology*. 789.

2. A Second Instance of the *Inconsistency* of your Quotations, and which indeed is a *Contradiction*, is, that in them it is said;

The

The Son of God

made of a Substance be-
ten, or made by God.

was a Substance, P. 12.
en by the Divine

Being, begotten, P. 12.
created, because
bstance is not any Thing
tten.

very Substance of P. 32.
aviour was not
begotten Substance of the
but was it self begotten
Divine Power.

onysius supposes P. 33.
ly a Difference of
bsistences of the Father and
n, but a Diversity of Sub-
an Inferiority of Power,
Difference of Glory.

e Father, Son, and P. 36.
Ghost are Three
nces.

Was deriv'd from the Substance of the Father.

Deriv'd from the Sub- P. 17.
stance of the Father.

God begat of himself P. 13.
a certain rational Power, which is call'd by the Holy Spirit sometimes Son, sometimes God.

Mr. Whiston's *Account of the Notion of* P. 26.
the Ancients is, This Word *was in an ineffable Manner begotten or created out of his* (God's) *Substance into a real subsisting Person or Being. And,*

Endued with all the P. 19.
Powers of God the Father. P. 20, Eusebius *says, God the World was alone, begotten of him* (ἐξ αὐτοῦ, *out of him, as is said before,* P. 26. *out of his Substance*) *by a* Communication *from him that begat him, and he was declared* God of God; (*which are the very Words of the* Nicene *Creed. And,*

The Efflux of the P. 16.
Eternal Light (*that is, in the Words of the* Nicene *Creed,* Light of Light)

But

But I must observe in you Quotation above-mention'd out of *Eusebius*, *Demonstr. Evang.* l. 4. c. 15. your Translation of μετοχῇ τῇ γεννήσαντος, *by a Communication from him that begat*, is not just and proper; for it ought to be render'd, *By a Communion, a Participation or taking part of him that begat.* So μετέχει is translated, *Heb.* ii. 14. *he took part*, and so μέτοχος is render'd in several Places of the Scripture; for μετέχω is of the same Signification as κοινωνῶ, *to have in common*; which last Word is us'd in the same Text, *Heb.* ii. 14. in the same Sense as μετέχω is there us'd; and κοινωνία is render'd *Communion*, 1 Cor. x. 16. And I find in my *Lexicon*, that μετέχω *proprie est cum aliquo habere*; and that the *Latins* have no other Word to express it, but only by *participare* or *participem esse*: So that *Communion*, *partaking*, *or taking part of him*, is something more than *a Communication from him.* The last signifies, imparting to another what was not his before: Communion is *having in common* what *both Partners have an equal Right to.* The Difference therefore is very material, unless you mean that what was communicated from God the Father, was his own Substance, (as you say was the Notion of the Ancients) and the Consequence of this I have already shewn to be that he must be Uncreated; and then you must acknowledge the Words of the *Nicene* Creed to be true and proper, that he is ὁμοούσιος, *of one Substance with the Father.*

The Greek Word for Communicate is κοινόω; *but* κοινωνέω *signifies Commune aliquid habere.*

P. 26.

Do not object to me, that I am dividing the Divine Essence, and so making Two Gods: For as in the above-mention'd Text, *Heb.* ii. 14. by *taking part of the same*, he had the *whole* human Nature, and was *perfect* Man; so as God he had the *whole* Divine Nature, the *Fulness* of the Godhead in him; and was *perfect* God: and as by having the whole human Nature in him, he was not *all* Men, but *one Man*; so by having the whole Divine Nature he was not *all three Persons*, but *one Person* in the Holy Trinity. And this is the Language of *Tertullian*, as also of *Eusebius*, *Origen*, &c. (as I shall herein after mention) Three Persons, not by Section or Separation of the Divine Essence, but in Rank and Order according to the Divine οἰκονομίαν.

And

And this is such a Mystery, that *Eusebius* ys, (a) that no Words can be found suf- ent to express the Generation and Dig- y, the Essence and Nature of Christ. d *Origen* speaks to the same effect : (b) re are some things, whose Signification no n can properly explain by any Words of human anguage : For, as he says, (1) God only Fa- , Son, and Holy Ghost, hath the Knowledge imself. I have ventured to quote this Book of *Origen*, ause *Eusebius* has said the same ; and so s the Scripture too : *For no Man knoweth Son, but the Father ; neither knoweth any Man Father, save the Son*, which Text is fre- ntly apply'd by the ancient Fathers, to denote the In- prehensibility of the Divine Nature of Christ ; and so said of the *Word of God*, Rev. xix. 12. *He had a Name ten, that none knew but he himself.*

nd therefore I may much more expect from your ice such a Construction of my Expressions in this Let- as is suitable to the Faith for which I am pleading. proceed to the particular Examination of your Te- onies, (those, I mean, which are taken out of such ks as I have in my Library) and shall shew that your otations are neither fair nor true ; and I follow the Order in which you have ed them in your Letter, when I have le some further Observations upon your otation above-mention'd out of *Euseb.*

Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 2.

ἀλλ' ἀρχῶν, l. 4. c. 2. Pamph. Apol. *p.* 751.

Matt. xi. 27.

Demonst. Evang. l. 4. c. 15.

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a) Γένος μὲν ἓν ἢ ἀξίας, αὐτῆς τε] ἀσ'ίας τῆς τῦ χρισῦ ἢ ὡς ἄτις ἂν ὰς ἐκφεσσιν αὐτάρκες ἡμῖν ὁ λόγ©.

b) Sunt quædam quorum significationem propriè nullus mino potest humanæ linguæ sermonibus explicare.

c) Solus enim Deus Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus cientiam tenet.

Which you render, p. 20.

God the Word was alone begotten of him by a Communication from him that begat him, who was the Unbegotten, the first and the greater Being: And he was declar'd God of God, and call'd the Christ and the Anointed.

But in the *Greek* it runs thus,

(1) *God the Word having participated of the Divine, to all incommunicable, Paternal Fragrancy; and being alone begotten of him; and by a participation, or taking part of him who begat him, who was the Unbegotten, and the First, and the Greater, being manifested to be God of God, was call'd Christ, and the Anointed.*

The Difference between these Two Translations is obvious; and what I shall observe upon this Passage, will shew how very unjust and unfair you have been in representing it.

1. You have omitted the first Part of it, tho' it was the proper Introduction to the Conclusion of it; and indeed the *Reason* why the Word of God was call'd Christ and the Anointed, *viz.* because *he was anointed with the Divine, Incommunicable, Paternal Fragrancy*; but this did not suit with your Doctrine, being too strong an Assertion of his Divinity; for if he had *all* the *Divine*, the very *Eternal* Attributes of God, *incommunicable to all Creatures*, then surely he is not a *Creature*, for it will be gross Blasphemy to assert it; he must be *God*.

2. I have before observ'd your Translation of μετοχὴ by a Communication; I now add, Why do you translate μετοχῇ τῇ γεννήσαντι by a Communication *from him* that begat? For 1*st*, Grammar will not bear it; and 2*dly*, Neither will good Sense: For supposing Communication were a proper Signification of μετοχὴ, there must be a Communication *of something*, as well as a Person *from whom* the Communication is made; but in your Translation nothing is said to be communicated, but in *Eusebius* the Communication is *of him* that begat: And this was very proper to what follows it. For,

(1) Τῆς θείας καὶ πάσιν ἀκοινωνήτου πατρικῆς εὐωδίας μόνον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντα θεὸν λόγον, μετοχῇ τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἀγεννήτου καὶ πρώτου καὶ μείζονος θεὸν ὄντα θεοῦ πατρὸς φανέντα, χριστὸν καὶ ἠλειμμένον ἀποκαλεῖσθαι.

3. You

3. You have left out the word *And*, which ſhould have
ceded, *by a Communication*; and inſerted before. *He was*
ared God, that your Reader might think he was begot by
Communication from him, of ſome Created Subſtance,
ou ſay in your Letter; and that *Euſebius* in this Paſſage,
your quoting it, ſupported that Opinion; yet this is far
erwiſe: For tho' it be true that he is the only begotten
n of God, becauſe he partakes of him that begat him;
the Intent of *Euſebius* in this Place was not to prove that
poſition, but to give a Reaſon why and how he was
d of God, *viz.* by a Participation of God.

nd therefore if you would allow *Euſebius* to ſpeak for
ſelf, and his own Senſe, it is plainly this: That *God*
Word is the *only begotten* of the *Father*; that he is *truly*
d, for he *partakes* of him, and his *Divine Nature and Eſ-*
, and becauſe he is anointed with all the *Divine*, *Incom-*
icable, *Paternal* Attributes, he is ſtil'd *Chriſt*, and *the*
inted.

nd tho' he that begat, is ſaid to be the *Firſt* and *the*
ter; yet this muſt be underſtood, as others, who have
the like Expreſſions, have explain'd them, *viz. in*
k and Order, not in State and Dignity; and *Euſebius*, in this
Place, goes on and cites the 45th *Pſalm*, ver. 6, 7. *Thy*
one, O God, is for ever and ever, &c. as St. *Paul* had appli-
t, *Heb.* i. and a little after ſtiles him (a) *Copartner in the*
one with the God over all.

What I have to ſay to your Quotation out of *Juſtin*, that
riſt is the *Firſt-born*, will be more proper when I come to
Text cited by you out of the *Coloſſians.*

Your Two firſt Quotations out of his Dia-
ue with *Trypho* are right; only your Tran- P. 13.
ion of πρὸ αἰώνων, *before the World*, (which
ndeed equivalent to the literal rendring, *before the Ages*)
not warrant what you mean by it, as if there were a
ne when he was not, as will appear in the Sequel of
Letter, and indeed in this very Paſſage: For when
pho had ſumm'd up *Juſtin*'s Aſſertion, *p.* 267. which he
been proving, *viz. That Chriſt being God præexiſted before*

(a) Συνδεσμον τῷ ἑνὶ πάντων θεῷ

all Ages, was begotten and made Man; he adds, (*) *This is not only a* Paradox, *but it is also* fooliſh. Which ſhews how he underſtood *Juſtin viz.* that he was truly God in the higheſt Senſe; for otherwiſe, a *Jew*, who believ'd that Angels had been often ſent and appear'd in human Shape, would never have call'd it a Paradox and Folly to aſſert, that a Creature, tho' never ſo excellent, ſhould come into the World.

Your Third Quotation, *Who was God before the World was made,* muſt be readily agreed to, and 'twill by no means be ſubſervient to your Purpoſe. For,

Dial. p. 276.

Juſtin was proving, that One of the Three who appear'd to *Abraham*, and was call'd and written in Scripture to be God, and was God before the World was made, was another Perſon different from him who made all things; I mean, ſays he, in *Number*, not in *Will*. And then he proceeds to ſeveral ſuch other Proofs of this Doctrine out of the Scriptures.

Γνώμῃ.

[Here I muſt not let ſlip this Occaſion to take notice of your very confident Aſſertion, 'That the Ancient Chriſtians ever allow'd, that the Expreſſions of the Old Teſtament, whenever there was a viſible Perſon appear'd, were ſpoken by the Son, as the Image of the invi-ſible God, or as repreſenting and perſonating his Father, as his Miniſter and Vicegerent; and that they never look'd upon them as true in the higheſt Senſe of the Son.' The contrary is made plain by the Inſtances in *Juſtin*, who draws the ſame Conſequences from them, as do now the Moderns. And Dr. *Hammond* ſays, *That 'twas the general Opinion of the Ancient Fathers of the Church, that he, who appear'd of old to the Patriarchs, was not the Father, but the Second Perſon in the Trinity, and that things his Appearances were* Præludia Incarnationis.

P. 25.

On the New Teſtament, p. 820.

(*) Τὸ δὲ λέγειν σε προϋπάρχειν θεὸν ὄντα πρὸ αἰώνων τὸν τοῦ Χριστὸν, εἶτα καὶ γυνάϊκα ἄνθρωπον, γόμμον ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ἐκ ἀνθρώπου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, ἐ μόνον παράδοξον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι ἀλλὰ καὶ μωρόν.

(*) And

And *Tertullian* says, 'twas *the Son of God spoke to* Moses. And *Eusebius* says expressly, (b) it was Christ who appear'd to *Abraham*; and he stiles him God, and that *Abraham* worshipp'd him as God: And Adv. Judæos, c. 9. p. 142. Eccl. Hist. p. 6, 7.

ls, *That it was impious to say that these Appearances of God were only of Angels, the Ministers of God.*

Excuse this Digression; and I return to ir Quotation out of *Justin*, taken from P. 13. 84. 285. And I ask,

Why did you stop so unfairly by drawing a Line —— r these Words, *Begotten voluntarily (by the Will) of the Father*; for the very next Words are, (aa) *But not such as we see begotten among us:* And then he goes on to illustrate Generation of the Son of God by the Similitude of a rd spoken by us, and of a Fire kindled by another Fire, ich is not lessen'd by that which was kindled by it, but nains still the same. (bb) '*To me*, says he, *will bear witss the Word of Wisdom, himself being that* God *begotten of the ther of all things, and being the* Word, *and* Wisdom, *and* ower, *and* Glory *of him that begat him*, as *Solomon* says. d here is inserted a great Part of the 8th Chapter of *Pros*, as a Proof of what *Justin* had said, and then, as a her Proof, he quotes the 1st of *Genesis*, *Let us make n*, &c. which, he says, was spoken at least to the Son God, (as *Origen* does also in his Comment on St. *John*, . p. 257.) and makes it an Evidence of his Divinity, exposes the absurd Answers of the *Jews*; and then ls the other Text, *Man is become like one of us*, as full

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) Qui ad Moysen loquebatur ipse erat Filius Dei.

b) Ὤφθαι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀνείρηται τοῖς τισι καμὼι ἀνθρωπος Ἀβραάμ. ὁ δὲ ὑποπεσὼν προσκυνεῖ μὲν ὡς θεον, ἱκετεύει δὲ ὡς κύριον—ὃ μὲν ἐδ' ὑποδεεστέρων ἀγγέλων καὶ λειτουργῶν τὰς ἀναγραφείσας θεοφανείας ὑπονοεῖν δέμις.

aa) Ἀλλ' ἐ τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γιγόμενον ὁρῶμεν.

bb) Ματυρήσει δέ μοι ὁ λόγος τ σοφίας, αὐτὸς ὢν ἐκ τ θεοῦ ὁ πρὸ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἡμῶν γεννηθεὶς καὶ λόγος καὶ σοφία καὶ δυνάμει καὶ δόξα τῆ γεννήσαντος ὑπάρχων.

Proof

Proof of the Son's Divinity, saying, (a) *Does not the Saying,* Like one of us, *denote at leaſt* Two *who ſubſiſted together with each other? And can the Doctors ſhew it was ſpoken to Angels, and ſo make Man's Body the Creature of Angels?*

Then follows the latter Part of the Quotation, which you have rendred very differently from the Original, as will appear by comparing them.

Mr. WHISTON.

'*But the Production which really proceeded from the Father before all Creatures, was with the Father, and to him did the Father ſpeak as the Word declares by* Solomon; For in the Beginning, *before all Creatures, this very Offſpring was produced by God, which by* Solomon *is ſtil'd Wiſdom.*

To this very ill Tranſlation you add your own worſe Comment. [Alluding to *Prov.* viii. 22, &c. where 'tis ſaid, God *created Wiſdom in the Beginning of his Ways for his Works.*]

In the GREEK.

(b) *But indeed this* Begotten *of the* Father *was with the Father before* all *his Works, and with him the* Father *converſed as the Word by* Solomon *hath declar'd; For that he himſelf was begotten by God, both the Principle, before all his Works, and his* Offſpring, *which is by* Solomon *call'd* Wiſdom.

Juſtin does indeed quote the 8th of the *Proverbs*, as I have before obſerv'd; but 'tis to prove the direct contrary both of what by your Tranſlation you wiſh him to ſay,

(a) Οὐκ ἔν εἰπὼν, ὡς ἑἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ ἐλάχιστον δύο μεμήνυκεν— ἢ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ἡμῶν δεῖξαι δύνανται ὅτι ἀγγέλοις ἔλεγεν ἢ ὅτι ἀγγέλων ποίημα ἦν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἀνθρώπειον.

(b) Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν ὄντι ὑπὸ τοῦ παντὸς προβληθὲν γέννημα πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων ζῶν τῷ παντὶ καὶ τοῦτο ὁ αὐτὸν προσομιλεῖ, ὡς ὁ λόγος διὰ τοῦ σολομῶνος, ὅτι καὶ ἀρχὴ πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ γέννημα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγίνητο ἡ σοφία ὑπὸ τοῦ σολομῶνος καλεῖται.

and

of your Construction of the 8th of the *Proverbs*; and fore you use him and your Reader very hardly, to he aludes to this Chapter for the Support of both. d you have taken great Liberty in translating ἀρχὴ, ἀρχῇ) *In the Beginning*, for 'tis turning the *Nominative* the *Dative* Case.

think it is plain, by the whole Tenor of *Justin's* ourse, that it is so far from countenancing your ion, that it overthrows it; and there- I shall make no further Comment P. 13. it, but what *Trypho's* Answer, which quote, gives me Occasion to do: He says, *Let him of the Father'n'd by you, as Lord, Christ and God, as the Scriptures ther before me: But for us, who are the Worshippers of that God, who with him him, we stand in no need of such a* Confession, *or such as this Worship.*

om this Passage it is plain, that *Trypho* acknowled- that the Scriptures declare Christ to be *Lord and God*; tho' he says, *p.* 289. (t) that he was astonish'd with nany Texts cited by *Justin*, and particularly knew not it to say to that of *Isaiah*, *I am God, and will not give lory to another*; yet, with the Obstinacy of a *Jew*, he stiles him a *made* God, (and thus far you tread his s, tho' 'tis an odd Sort of Christianity that is learn'd a *Jew*.) But then his Objection to this Notion is sure- ry Just, That they, who worship the *God* that *made* have no Need of *such* a God, or *such a* Worship; and incumbent on you, who profess this Doctrine, to give Answer to it; for till you do, the *Jews* are not like your Proselytes, tho' you boast against hat 'tis our Doctrine which gives them P. 30. nce.

proceed to your other Testimonies, which you repre- so partially, and in such a manner, as, by the like Me- , a Man may prove, even out of the Scriptures, any most absurd and impious Proposition.

(t) Ὑπὸ τῶν τοσούτων γραφῶν δυσωπούμενος· ἀλλ' οἶδα τί φῶ γραφῆς ἦν ἔφη Ἡσαΐας καθ' ἣν ὁ Θεὸς ἑδεῖ ἑτέρῳ δόξ- τιμὴ δόξαν αὐτῷ λέγει οὕτως εἰπών· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτό ὄνομα, τιμὴ δόξαν μὲ ἑτέρῳ οὐ μὴ δώσω.

In

P. 15. In your Quotation out of *Athenagoras*, in which the Son is said to be the First Production of the Father, *not as a Being made*; you add of your own, (for 'tis not in the Book) *out of nothing*. Thus you qualify a plain and absolute Proposition of your Author; and to refute his positive Assertion, that the Son was *not a Being made*, you would have him understood to mean, by imposing upon him your Sense, *not made of Nothing*, leaving your Reader to chuse which of the contradictory Propositions (which I have before taken notice of) he pleases, as to the Substance of which he was made, provided he will agree with you that he was *made*.

Thus you treat *Irenæus* also, for you own that he says Christ was God's *Eternal Word, unmade*; and yet you suppose his Meaning also to be, *not made out of Nothing*. *Irenæus* further says, that he *always coexisted with the Father, and was ever with him*: To which your Answer is very pretty, *viz.* and *he avoided saying, that God created him*: Pray how was it possible for him to say this last, after he had said the first; *Eternal, Unmade*, and yet *Created*, could be said by none, who knew what a Contradiction was; and only by one, who could have a Notion of a made God.

16. You quote out of *Tertullian*, '*What other Characteristick is there of God than Eternity.* I agree, that without it he would not be God; and therefore all your Quotations, and your own Assertions, that our Saviour is God, are vain, and serve only to amuse or abuse the World, if you do not believe him to be *Eternal*.

But to return to *Athenagoras*.

Perhaps it may be too nice an Objection to your Translation of ἀπ' ὑπεροχὴν συνέσεως, *out of your Depth of understanding*, to tell you that ὑπεροχὴ is *Excess*, and may be not a Compliment, but a Reproof of their Curiosity in desiring to pry into Mysteries unfathomable. But let this pass.

(1) Why did you omit what immediately preceded your Quotation, *viz.* '*The Father and the Son being* One; *the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son, in Unity and*

(1) Ἑνὸς ὄντος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ὄντος δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν πατρὶ καὶ πατρὸς ἐν υἱῷ ἑνότητι καὶ δυνάμει πνεύματος· νοῦς καὶ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Power of the Spirit ; the Son of God is the Mind, or Wisdom, or Word *of the* Father.

And immediately after your Quotation follows:

' (1) *And we say that the Holy Ghost working in the Prophets, is the Efflux of God flowing from and reflected back to him, as the Rays of the Sun : Who then would not wonder, that should hear them call'd Atheists, who acknowledge* God the Father, God the Son, *and the* Holy Ghost, *shewing both their* Power *in* Unity, *and their* Distinction *in* Order ?

Surely *Athenagoras* is a Christian Writer before the Days *Athanasius*, and does here assert the *Three Persons* to be *God* ; and yet in your Letter to the Bi- P. 19.
op of *London*, you challenge any Man to
oduce one that does so ; and I observe that you there
ow *Tertullian* does so, but you therefore doubt whether
may be call'd a Catholick Writer, and that this is con-
ry to his own usual Way of speaking : Why then do
u quote him in your Letter to me, if he be not of good
thority ? Why do you not produce such Passages out of
n as are according to his usual Way of speaking ? Those
hich you have instanced in, are neither *fairly* nor *truly*
ted by you ; nay, what he does say in those Places is
ectly and *expressly* against you, as I come now to shew.

At the End of your first Quotation out *Tertullian, adv. Prax.* §. 5. you put, *&c. For* P. 15.
before all things God was alone, &c.

Now this, *&c.* is the most extraordinary and unfair that I met with, as Mankind will judge by the Words immediately following, and to which our *&c.* relates.

' *God was alone* : (2) *But therefore alone, because there is no extrinsical Thing besides him ; but indeed* not *even then* alone, *for he had with him his* Reason : *This the* Greeks *call* Logos.

(1) Καὶ τοι αὐτὸ ἐνεργᾶν τοῖς ἐκφωνᾶσι προφητικῶς ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀπόῤῥοιαν εἶναι φαμὲν τῆ θεῖ ἀπορῥέον καὶ ἀναφερόμενον ὡς τίνα ἥλιον. τὶς οὖν οὐκ ἀπορῥήσαι λέγοντας θεὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον δεικνύντας καὶ ἐν ἑνώσει δυνάμιν καὶ τιμὴ ἐν τῇ διαιρέσιν ἀκούσας ἀθέους καλουμένους.

(2) Solus autem quia nihil aliud extrinsecus præter illum, æterùm nè tunc quidem solus, habebat enim secum rationem——hanc Græci λόγον dicunt.

Your Second Quotation out of *Tertullian* I may take notice of, when I come to your Texts of Scripture.

P. 15. In your Third Quotation, why did you not proceed, but ſtop at the Words, *The Lord created me the Beginning of his Ways*; for immediately he adds, that *he was* begotten; and thereupon ſays, [1] 'Hence *making him equal to himſelf, by* proceeding *from whom* 'he is made *the* Son: *The* Firſt *begotten, as being begotten before* 'all things; *and the* Only *begotten as* alone *begotten* out of 'God.

By this 'tis plain, that he, as well as *Juſtin*, did not conſtrue the Text in the *Proverbs* as you do; for how could a created Being be equal to God himſelf? And if Begotten and Created by the ſame thing, as you ſay, how could he be ſaid to be the *only begotten* as *alone begotten*? for then he muſt be not only the *Beginning* of his Creatures, but the *only* Creature.

P. 16. The laſt Quotation out of *Tertullian* ends *He begot me before the Hills.* This you mean as a Proof, that the Son of God is a Creature.

But why ſhould you put any other Conſtruction upon theſe Words of *Tertullian*, when apply'd to the Son, than you will do upon the ſame in *Pſalm.* xc. 2. from whence they are taken, and where they are apply'd to the Father, *as God from Everlaſting to Everlaſting*; and that *Tertullian* meant them; and to expreſs, as well as we are able what is inconceivable, (and which no Words can expreſs, as *Euſebius* and *Origen* declare) *viz.* the Eternal Generation of the Son of God; he adds in the Words of the Scripture, *The Son* is the *Word*, and *the Word* is *God*, and *I and my Father are one*: So that I may ſay to you, as he concludes this Paſſage to *Hermogenes*, §. 19. 'But *he takes Occaſion from ſome* 'Words, *as is the manner of Hereticks, to diſtort plain and ſimple* 'things.

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(1) Exindè tum parem ſibi faciens, de quo procedendo filius factus eſt, primogenitus, ut ante omnia genitus, & unigenitus ut ſolus ex Deo genitus.

And

nd that this is expreſsly *Tertullian*'s Opinion, will be
ifeſt by another Paſſage, *viz.* (1) '*We have*
rnt. that he Chriſt *proceeded out of God, and* Apolog.adv.
that Prolation was begotten, and therefore was Gentes,c.21.
d to be the Son of God, and God from the Unity
Subſtance. And then he illuſtrates it by the Sun and its
s, and ſays, '*The Subſtance is not ſeparated, but extended*;
d then repeats, *What proceeds from God, is God, and the Son*
God, and both are one.

come now to your Teſtimonies out of *Origen*.
he firſt is taken out of *Origen contra Celſum*, P. 16.
38.

They are illuminated by that Wiſdom, which is the Efflux
Splendor of the Eternal Light.

bey, who? I gueſs you were aſham'd to tell me. For
is a very extraordinary Paſſage, and I wonder you
ld quote it; for as great Skill and Delight as you have
ſtronomy, I did not imagine you would give any
ntenance to the Opnion of *Origen*, which introduces it;
he ſays, (2) '*The Stars in Heaven are Rational Animals, and*
Hills. Thid, and thus far of this Paſſage you omit, and then put
Creature and begin *They*) '*were enlighten'd* with the Light of
ther Cnowledge *by Wiſdom, which is the Efflux of the Eternal Light.*
his Notion he had from *Plato*, who indeed carry'd it a
e further, (in his 12th and 13th Books *de Leg*,) *making*
un Moon and Stars not only endued with Reaſon, put even to
rds. And if *Origen*, in ſome of his Writings, has tranſ-
ted any more of *Plato*'s Notions into Divinity, it is no
nder; for he was ſo good a Proficient in that Philoſo-
; that when he came into the School of *Plotinus* he
offer'd his Desk, as one fitter to read Lectures there,
to be an Auditor of them.

Hunc ex Deo prolitum didicimus & prolatione gene-
m & idcirco filium Dei & Deum dictum ex unitate ſub-
tiæ——etiam radius ex ſole porrigitur, portio ex ſum-
ſed ſol erit in radio quia ſolis eſt radius, nec ſeperatur
ſtantia ſed extenditur, quod de Deo profectum eſt Deus
& Dei Filius, & unus ambo.

(2) Οἱ ἐν ἐρανῷ ἀστέρες ζῶα εἰσι λογικὰ καὶ σπηλαῖα καὶ ἐφω-
τισαν τῷ φωτὶ τῆς γνώσεως ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀπαύ-
γασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου.

But

But (to say no more of this wild Notion) this Passage will not support your Opinion, that the *Son of God* is a *Creature*: On the contrary, this Expression, *the Efflux of the Eternal Light*, is us'd by several of the Authors to whom you have referr'd me, to denote his *Identity* in Essence with the Father: So *Tertullian* compares *his Generation to the Ray of the Sun*; but *the Sun is in that Ray, for it is a Ray of it*, &c. And *Origen* here a little after explains himself to the same purpose by citing St. *John*, (1) *God is Light*; *the Son of God is the true Light that lightneth every Man that cometh into the World*. And he himself says, *I am the Light of the World*. And that he means the Divinity of our Saviour, is plain by his citing this and other Texts expressly to prove it: (2) *I am the Light of the World*; *I am* Alpha *and* Omega, *the* Beginning *and the* End, *the* First *and the* Last. And introduces them with saying, 'The greatest *and most perfect Accounts of* Jesus *were reserv'd for* 'him, *who lay in his Bosom*; *for none of the Evangelists has so* 'purely *and* clearly *manifested his* Divinity *as St.* John.

Adv. Gentes, c. 21.

Comment in Johan. p. 5.

Your Second Quotation out of *Origen contra Celsum*, l. 5. p. 257. ends thus: *The Son of God Oracles own him to be* ancientest *of all* Creatures.

P. 17.

What *Origen* must mean by the first Part of this Passage, πάσης κτίσεως *the Son of God*, the *First-born of every Creature*; and the Conclusion *the ancientest of all Creatures*, will be best explain'd by what he himself says in another Place where after he had quoted the Text in St. *Matth.* xi 17. (b) *No Man knoweth the* Son, *but the* Father, &c. he adds, *For the* Unmade *and* First born *of all* creat-

Contra Celsum. l. 6. p. 287.

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(1) Ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστι, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ φῶς ἀληθινόν ἐστιν ὁ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον, εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἐγω εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου.

(2) Ὁ δὲ εἰς ἐκείνων ἀκρατῶς ἐφανέρωσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα, ὡς Ἰωάννης, παρεστήσας αὐτὸν λέγοντα, ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει, ἐγω εἰμι τὸ α καὶ τὸ ω, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος.

(b) Οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱον, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ — ἵστε δὲ τὴν ἀγένητον καὶ πάσης κτιστῆς φύσεως πρωτότοκον καὶ ἀξίαν ἀδέκτου τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ὡς ὁ ἡμήσας αὐτὴν παλαιὸν εἶναι τοῦ πατέρα ὡς ὁ ἐμφυσήσας θεοῦ καὶ σοφία αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλήθεια

Nature,

ure, none *can know according to his* Dignity, *as the* Father *who begat him, nor the* Father *ſo as the* Living Word *and Wiſdom and Truth.*

What I have to ſay to that Expreſſion, *the Firſt born*, &c. ſerve till I come to the Text in the *Coloſſians*; but at ſent I muſt obſerve, that your Senſe of *Firſt-born*, and *ancienteſt of all Creatures*, cannot poſſibly conſiſt with t I have laſt cited, in which the Son of God is ex-ſly ſaid to be *Unmade* ἀγένητ☉ an *Unmade* or *Uncre-Creature*, is Nonſenſe: And if you will not interpret Words you have cited by thoſe I have laſt mention'd, will make *Origen* to aſſert Contradictions; for *Unmade Firſt born* are join'd together.

and if you would have added the very next Words to r Quotation, *viz.* (1) *And God the* Father *ſaid to him*, Us *make Man after* Our *Image and Likeneſs*; I have al-dy obſerv'd, that *Juſtin* makes this Text an Argument the *Divinity* of the *Son of God*, and hope to ſhew it by er Authorities when I come to it.

Your next Quotation is out of *Origen's* mment on *Pſalm* i. p. 38. P. 17.

Pray to the Father *the* God *of the* Univerſe, *thro' our* Sa-our, *as* High-Prieſt, *who is the* Made *God.*

This you have rendred very *perverſly* and *falſly*; and r Reaſon for ſo doing is very obvious by comparing ith the literal and true Tranſlation of it, *viz.*

Pray to the Father *the* God *of the* Univerſe, (2) *thro' our* iour *and* High Prieſt, *the* Begotten *God.*

Your next Quotation is alſo out of the P. 17.

e Book, *p.* 31. as follows: '*Thou art my* n, *this Day have I* begotten *thee. This is* id *to the* Son *of* God, *with whom it is always* -day, *for there is no* Evening *with* God: *do alſo ſuppoſe, that neither is there any* Morn-ng *with him*; *but that* a Time coextended *with his* Unmade *and* Eternal Life *is, if I* ay *ſo ſay*, that Day, *or* to day, *with him in* hich *the* Son *was* made, *the Beginning of his* Origin *being thus* not *found neither of this* Day. *This is in his Comment on St.* John, *wherein he cites this Verſe of the* 2*d* Pſalm, *p.* 31.

(1) Καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς εἶπε ὁ τῶ ἀνθρώπε δημιεργὸς ἐμ-αὶ ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν
(2) Διὰ τῦ σωτῆρ☉ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχιερέως ἀγήτε θεῦ. This

This is so full and expreſs againſt you, that I wonder you ſhould quote it; but I perceive you have ventur'd upon it, for the Sake of Two Words in your Tranſlation, *Made* and *Origin*, which in the *Greek* are γεγένηται and γενέσεως the firſt ſignifies *was born*, and the ſecond his *Geniture* or *Nativity*; and both ſhould have been ſo rendred, as moſt ſuitable and agreeable to the Word γεγέννηκα *I have begotten thee.*

I have now done with your Quotations out of *Origen*, and hope I have ſufficiently ſhewn, that theſe your Teſtimonies (if you reckon them among the Principal, which concern this important Queſtion, *p.* 2,) are of little Uſe to ſupport your Opinion, that *the Son of God is a Creature.* But after all, I believe we ſhall both agree, that *Origen* has ſome Opinions ſo very ſtrange and heterodox, that we ſhould concur in rejecting them; and if in the preſent Queſtion he ſhould be found to have declared different Opinions, ſurely thoſe are to be rejected, which are founded on his own, ſcarce Philoſophical Notions; and if he be of any Authority, what he ſays founded on the Scripture, which he quotes, and ſupported by the concurrent Teſtimony of other Great and Holy *Fathers* interpreting thoſe Texts, and applying them to *the Divinity of the Son of God*, ought in reaſon to be preferr'd and moſt regarded: And I ſhall ſum up all in his own Words; (*) ‘ *The* God *and* Father *of* all

Contra Celſ. l. 6. p. 323.

‘ *not* alone *great*, *for he made the* only Begotten *and* Firſt born *of every* Creature Partaker *of* himſelf, *and of his* Greatneſs, *that*

‘ *being the* Image *of the* Inviſible God *ſhould keep* the Image

‘ *of the* Father *even in* Greatneſs; *for it was not poſſible* for

‘ *him to be the* Commenſurate *and* fair Image *of the* Inviſible

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(*) Οὐ μόνον ὃ μέγας καθ' ἡμᾶς ὅτιν ὁ ΠΡΩ ὅλων θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ, μετέδωκε γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ μεγαλειότητος τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως, ἵν', εἰκὼν ὢν τοῦ τυγχάνων τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ, καὶ ὢν τῷ μεγέθει σώζῃ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ πατρὸς, ὃ γάρ οἷον τ' ἦν εἶδ (ὑμμέτρον (ἵν' ἅπως ὀνομάσω) καὶ καλὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ, μὴ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους παεισάσαν τὴν εἰκόνα.

God

od, *unless he exhibited* the Image *also of*
s Greatness. And in another place he
ordingly stiles *the Son*, (b) the *Glorify'd*
the *Word*.

Com. in Johan. p. 8.

urely this is more than a *Metaphysical* Existence, as you
ute to the Ancients, *p.* 14. more '*than that he was in a*
til manner, virtually, potentially, or as his Internal Wisdom
his Father from all Eternity, p. 26.

hat I have here transcrib'd out of the
said Authors, and what I have observ'd
n them, methinks, may help you out of
Difficulty under which you labour, when you say,
w a confessedly, (*you should have added*, necessarily)
v'd, produc'd, and begotten Being, *an* only begotten
n, should be really coeternal *with his* underiv'd, unbegot-
, and necessarily *existing* Father, Author *and* Producer,
nnot possibly understand.

P. 28, 29.

leed if you measure this Mystery by natural Genera-
here on Earth, 'tis inconceivable how a *Son* should
eval with his *Father*; it is impossible: But surely our
ow Understandings are not the Measure of *Infinity*.
wn this Mystery is incomprehensible; and so is the
ty of God. It is hard to conceive, how any thing
xist without a *Cause*; and yet we believe *God* to be
istent: And in this Case before us, I
ay to you, (as our Saviour does in
ier) *Do you not therefore err, because you know not the Scrip-*
neither the Power *of* God? *For the Things*
re in Heaven, who *hath* searched out?

Mat. xii. 24.

Wisd. ix. 16.

nust own, that there are some Passages in these Au-
(whom, by your Quotations out of them, you
directed me to consult) which seem to countenance
Doctrine.; but it cannot with any Colour of Truth
ny'd, but that they do also *plainly*, and in *express Terms*
the *Trinity*, and that the *Father* is *God*,
n is *God*, and the *Holy Ghost* is *God*. But
great Humility and Submission to *Lear-*
n, I conceive, that a fair Account may
ven of this seeming Difference from
elves; for when they speak of this adorable *Mystery*

Orig. contra Cels. c. 6. p. 323.

b) Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ δεδοξασμένος θεὸς λόγος.

in

in *general*, they with an awful Reverence acknowledge this Revelation, and declare the *Divinity* of each of the Three Persons in *positive* and *absolute* Terms: But then some, perhaps, out of a pious and well intended Zeal, have endeavour'd to illustrate this Incomprehensible Mystery by Similitudes and Representations taken from worldly Things (as, from *Light*, *human Generations*, &c.) tho' they own no Words can express it; and therefore 'tis no wonder, that in these Cases their Comparisons of *finite* Things with *infinite*, should not only fall short, but their Expressions must of Necessity, if *strictly* taken lead Men into *Error*; who interpret their positive Assertions of the *Trinity* and of the *Divinity* of the *Three Persons* by their Representations of it, instead of construing candidly those imperfect Representations by the Rule and Standard of our *Faith*, which they have fully declared from the Scriptures, and which may quote to confirm their Doctrine; of which the Primitive Christians were so fully convinced, and particularly the *Divinity* of the *Son of God* was so entirely believ'd as an irresistible *Truth*, that some by attempting to explain it have fall'n into downright Heresy. And *Novatian* very ingeniously argues from thence, that he was, even in the Opinion also, *truly* God: For, as he says,

Novat. c. 17. (a) 'He is so truly God, but as the Son of God, that some Heretics have thought him not a Son, but the very Father himself; and (b) others thought he was so much God, as that he was not Man.' And as much as *Novation* blames others, he himself when he attempts to explain the Trinity, does in a manner almost inconsistent with his plain Assertion of it. So wild and unaccountable must Men be, when they suffer their Thoughts to wander, and to pry into things above our Faculties, which, you say, even the *Scriptures do not meddle with*, (and I say too, not *meddle with*

(a) Qui usque adeò Deus est (sed quà Filius Dei natus ex Deo) ut plerique illum hæretici ita Deum acceperint, ut non Filium sed Patrem pronunciandum putarent.

(b) Et alii quoq; hæretici usq; adeò eum Deum esse ut quidam illum, subtracto homine, tantummdò putaverint Deum.

hem otherwise than to revel them as *Truths* to be *believ'd*)
which the Angel desir to look in o: For *none know*
e Son, *but the* Father; *nor the things of* God 1 Pet. . 12.
t the Spirit *of* God. For how should thy Matt. xi. 27.
esse*l* be able to comprehend the Ways of the 1 Cor. ii. 11.
ighest, which are past finding out? These 2 Esdr. iv.
e Objects of our *Faith*, not of our *Know-* 10.
lge; for *Faith* would not be a *Virtue*, *Faith* would not be
ith, but *Knowledge*, if nothing was to be believ'd, but
hat may be our Ratiocinations be made out to our Com-
ehension. When *Athanasius* says, *As the reasonable Soul and*
so is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ; no Man pre-
nds that this is an *adequate* Representation of the Incar-
tion of the *Son* of *God*, tho' it may be the best and near-
that we can arrive at; and even this surpasses our Un-
rstanding, how a *material* and *immaterial* Substance should
united in *one* Person; how *perishable* Dust and Ashes
ould be animated and endued with an *Immortal* Soul, a
rticle of *Divinity*: How much less can we conceive,
w *God* himself should be *Hypostatically* join'd with *Man*;
d still less than this, how *Three* Persons
the *Eternal* Deity should be *One* God: 1 Cor. xiii.
t when *we shall come to see him Face to Face*, 12.
d our Faculties shall be enlarged, *we*
ll then know him even as we are known. Heb. xi. 1.
the mean time, we must be content *to see*
o' a Glass darkly, and to let our *Faith be the Evidence of*
se things not seen; not because we can give a *Philosophical*
count of them, but because the *Word* of *Truth* has spo-
n them.

I should now have done with your Testimonies; for from
ese which I have examin'd I may reasonably conclude,
at the rest have been forg'd upon the
ne Anvil; and I pray *God* he may never Septuag.
to you, *Who is this that darkneth Counsel, and* Job xxxviii.
suppressing Words in his Heart, thinks to conceal them from me?
But because you boast, that the great *Eusebius* (as you
le him) is your Friend; that none of
e truly Learned will pretend he was an P. 33.
hanasian, tho' he subscrib'd the Council
Nice, (which perhaps you will not allow to be a suf-
ient Argument for it, because there are some modern

Examples, who have *subscrib'd* our Articles, and *declar'd* before *God* and *Man* their *Assent* and *Consent* to our Creeds, and yet have renounced publickly that Faith, P. 9, and 27. which they then *solemnly* profess'd;) and because you say, that the Fathers, and particularly *Eusebius*, notwithstanding their positive and express Assertions of the *Coeternity* of the *Son* of *God*, meant no more than 'a *metaphysical* or *potential Eternity*, p. 9. that 'he was *before the World began*, p. 27. *as we are assured by* 'many clearer and plainer Passages, wherein they directly 'and absolutely deny the Son's Coeternity *with the Father*; I must not entirely pass over your Quotations out of an Author you so greatly rely on: One I have already taken notice of, and made my Remarks upon; I will now go on to the others. But first, I will repeat shortly what you allow *Eusebius* to assert for the *Eternity* of the *Son* of *God*, and then state your Quotations by which you pretend to over-rule those Assertions; that by this Comparison it may be seen which are the plainest and clearest.

You *allow*, for indeed it cannot be *deny'd*, P. 27. that *Eusebius* says that the Generation of the Son was αἰδιον *Eternal*; that he was always ἀνάρχον, *Beginningless*, and at *all* times with the *Father*, elder than *all* Times and *all* Ages; that he subsisted from *endless Ages*, that he reign'd with his *Father* from *Beginningless Ages*; to which you add that of the Presbyters of *Alexandria*, that *God* begat him before *Eternal* Times.

Now I desire you to tell me, whether there be Words in any Language to express the Doctrine I am contending for, more *plainly* and *fully* than these, which you have furnish'd to me out of *Irenæus* before-mention'd, and here out of *Eusebius*, and from the Presbyters of *Alexandria*. I observe you have ventur'd to translate αἰδιος, *Eternal*, notwithstanding you say, *p.* 28. it does not always so signify; and ἀνάρχος, *Beginningless*, notwithstanding your *improper* and *untrue* Interpretation of it, *p.* 8, and 9. *to be only before the Beginning of the World*, tho' it cannot signify less than to be *without a Beginning*; and if ἀπ' ἀιῶνος, singly should, as you say, *p.* 28. *seldom* or *never* signify a *proper* Eternity; yet surely with the Epithet *Beginningless*, it must signify *Eternity*; for what subsists and had *no* Beginning is *properly* Eternal. Now can you think to persuade any Man

an of common Sense, by your bold and peremptory Asstion, that these Authors do not mean what they say; in your Words, *meant no more than that he was before the rld began*; and that there are, or can be plainer and arer Passages in these Authors to support your Assertion: they recant their own Assertions, and in express Terms clare, (as you do, *p.* 18. of your Letter to the Bishop of don) that ' *in their younger Years they had by Custom been tray'd into such a fatal Mistake*? This you do not pretend say; and yet less than this will scarce be sufficient to tify your Charge against them: I am sure the Quotas which you have pick'd out of them, (and I suppose y are the strongest, or you have been very unfortunate our Choice) do not do it, even tho' they had been true; ich I have shewn they are not, in what I have examin'd I shall now shew in *Eusebius*, who, as your Friend, ght have expected better Usage from you.

The first Quotation is, ' *Wisdom does substantially subsist, and was created by God before e World began*, &c. P. 19.

Here you have given us another, &c. with which you l that Paragraph; and then immediately you proceed your next Quotation, *viz.*

Solomon, *says* Eusebius *elsewhere, gives us e same Sense in other Language; and using the ame of Wisdom instead of the Word, makes this eclaration, as in her Person*——— Præpar. Evang. p. 11. p. 313.

Now what can any Reader understand by this, but onwhat immediately preceded, viz. ' *That Wisdom does substantially subsist*, and *was created before the World began*; esially since you do not mention this Declaration, but stop h a Stroke —— at the word *Person*.

But in *Eusebius* the Matter stands thus:

In the Beginning of the Chapter, he tells us the Account ich the *Jews*, and particularly *Moses* and *David*, give of *Logos*, viz. (*) , *The* Hebrew *Oracles stile im the Second Cause of all Things, the* Word *of* P. 312.

(*) Περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου, ὃν δὴ θεὸν λόγον καὶ θεὸν ὀνομάζει τὰ Ἑβραίων παιδεύσεως λόγια: καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ θεολογοῦμεν δεδιδάξμεθα, ὁ μὲν ἦν Μωσῆς διαρρήδην δύο θεολογεῖ, ἐν οἷς φησὶ, καὶ ἔβρεξε κύριος παρὰ κυρίου πῦρ καὶ θεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀσεβῶν πόλιν; ἔνθα ζωηφόρως ἐπὶ τοῦ δύο τὸ ὁμοίαν παρ' Ἑβραίων καραχτήρων ἐποίησατο σχέσιν, God

'God, *and* God *of* God, *as we* (*Christians*) *have been taught* 'theologized *of him*; *and* Moses *plainly speaks of* Two Lords, 'when *he says*, *The* Lord *rained from the* Lord *Fire and Brim-* 'stone *upon the City of the Wicked*: *So he familiarly made the* 'the *like Application of the Characters among the* Hebrews to 'Both.

And here he mentions expresly what that Character (2) was, *viz.* the *Tetragrammaton*, that is, *Jehovah*, the incommunicable Name of the *Supreme God*.

Then he goes on:

(3) 'To *him also* David *concurring*, *says*, *The* Lord *said to* 'my Lord, *Sit thou on my Right Hand*, &c. *For to whom else* 'can *we be allow'd to imagine*, *that the* Right Hand *should be* 'given *by the* Unbegotten Deity, *but to* Him only *of whom* 'we *have been speaking*, *whom the same Prophet elsewhere charac-* 'terizes *under the Name of the* Logos *of the* Father.

Matt. xxii. 44, 46. And surely this is a very proper Argument; for it was urg'd by Christ himself, and *put the Pharisees to Silence*.

Then he comes to your Quotation:

(4) 'His *Son also and Successor* Solomon gives us the same Sense.

What Sense? Surely that which he had just before recited of the *Jews*, and of *Moses*, and of his *Father David* in particular, *viz.* that the Characters among the *Hebrews*, even the Name of *Jehovah*, were alike apply'd to both Father and *Son*.

P. 19. Your next Quotation is out of *Euseb. Demonst. Evang.* l. 4. c. 3. in which Passage, if there be any Expressions capable of your Sense, yet if in his other Writings he plainly declares, as he does, an Opinion contrary to what you would deduce from such am-

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(2) αυτὴ ὃ ἡ διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἀνεκφώνητος παρ' αὐτοις θεολογία.

(3) Τέτῳ ὃ καὶ Δαβὶδ ἄλλος προφήτης καὶ βασιλεὺς ἑβραίων ζωσάδων φησίν, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μᾶς καθὸς ἂν δεῖξῃ ὧν με——τινὶ γὰρ ἄλλῳ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν τὰ δεξιὰ διὰ τὸ ἀγεννήτε θεότητος πάσχωρεῖν ἢ μόνῳ τῷ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος ὃν ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης ἐν ἑτέροις λαμπρότερον διασαφῶ λέγων τὰ πατρός.

(4) Καὶ ὁ τέτε ὃ παῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ διάδοχος Σολομὼν ἑτέρῳ περιρήματι τ' αὐτὰ παιδεύει διάνοιαν.

bigu-ous

ious Expreſſions; nay, if in this very Chapter he aſ-
s the *Eternal* Generation of the *Son* of *God* in *clear* and
outable Terms, then ſurely in Reaſon the doubtful Ex-
ſions ſhould be conſtrued by thoſe; and the Con-
ction which you put upon the *doubtful*, ſhould not over-
direct and *poſitive* Aſſertions.

gain, if this were not the Caſe, yet it muſt be conſi-
d, that *Euſebius*, who was cotemporary with *Arius* and
riend, is too late an Authority to overthrow the *Faith*
Doctrine of the *Antenicent* Fathers, as well as the
ncil of *Nice*, which affirm'd it.

ut, as if you were conſcious, that *Euſebius* in this Paſſage
not ſaid enough for your Purpoſe, you leave out a
t deal of it; and what you do cite, you inſert by
emeals in ſeveral diſtant Pages of your Letter. And
, you groſsly miſ tranſlate them, as will appear:

19. ' *The Light does not ſhine forth by the Will of*
' *the Luminous Body, but by a neceſſary Property*
ture.

n your Tranſlation.	In the GREEK.
' *But the* Son *by the in-*	(t) *But the* P. 19, 20.
tion and Will of the Father	Son, *according to*
ew'd his Subſiſtance, ſo as to	Counſel *and* Choice, *became*
the Image of the Father;	*the Image of the* Father; *for*
his Will did God become the	God *being willing, became the*
her of his Son, and caus'd	Father *of the* Son, *and caus'd*
ubſiſt a Second Light, in all	*to ſubſiſt a* Second *Light, in* all
gs like unto himſelf——	*things like unto himſelf.*

(t) Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς κατὰ γνώμην καὶ βούλησιν εἰκὼν ὑπέστη τοῦ
ὄντος, ἐκλαμφθεὶς δὲ ὁ θεὸς γέγονεν υἱὸς πατὴρ καὶ φῶς δεύτερον
πάντα ἑαυτῷ ὁμοιώμενον ὑπεστήσατο.

This

This you have omitted:

Then follows:

(2) *The Unbegotten and Eternal Light being* One, *how can the Image be other than* One? *Does not the Splendor, or the Ray, being the Light, preserve in all respects the Likeness of the Archetype? How can it be the Image of the very* One, *unless it self also be* One?

Then follows a Passage which you have omitted in this Place, because in your own Judgment it does not consist with the Doctrine which you would have *Eusebius* to assert here; for you have cited it, *p.* 8. among the Authorities for the Coeternity of the Son of God; but have done it very awkwardly, and indeed have corrupted it, as will appear by

Your Translation.	The GREEK.
(1) *That the Son was begotten, not as having for* certain *Times not been, and* then being made; *but being before* all *Ages, and still before them, and being always* present as a Son *with the Father*; but *not being unbegotten, but begotten of* the *Unbegotten Father, being the only Begotten, the Word, and God of God.*	(2) *Our Theology represents* P. 8. *the Son* Begotten, *not as* being *in* any *Times, and afterward* begotten, *but as being and pre-existing before* Eternal *Ages, and as the Son being together always with the Father not being unbegotten, but begotten of* his *Unbegotten Father, being the* only *begotten, the Word and* God *of* God;

(1) Ἀγλωνήτε γὰρ ἓν ᾧ ἀϊδίε φωτὸς ὄντος, ἑνὸς, πῶς ἄλλο τὸ ἄλλο οἷά τις εἰκὼν; ἔχει δ' αὐγὴ ἴσα φῶς κατὰ πάντα τὰ ἐμφερὲς τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ σῳζουσα, πῶς δ' ἂν αὐτὸ τὸ εἰκὼν εἰ μὴ μιὰ ᾗ αὐτὴ ἴσα.

(2) Ταῦτ' μὲν τ' πρεσβυτέρης ἡμῖν θεολογίας, ὃς υἱὸν γεννητὸν μὲν χρόνοις μέν τισιν οὐκ ὄντα, ὕστερον δ' γεγονότα, ἀλλὰ πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων ὄντα καὶ προόντα καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀεὶ σὺν διαπαντὸς ζωὴν τὰ ἐκ ἀγλώνητον ὄντα γνησίου δ' ἀγλωνήτε πατρὸς μονογενῆ ὄντα, λόγον καὶ θεὸν ἐκ θεῦ.

The

his you have omitted :

It goes on :

(2) *not by a* Separation, Section *or* Division, *out of the Father's Substance ; but* ineffably *and beyond our Ratiocination, from Eternity, and*

) Receiving, *before all A-* *a* real Subsistence *by the* *ressible and inconceivable* *and Power of the Father.*

(3) *Before all* P. 20. *Ages, being sub-* *stantiated of, or according to the* *inexpressible and* *inconceivable* ἐκ βουλῆς *Counsel and Power of the Father.*

alſo you have omitted :

(4) *For, as 'tis said,* Who can declare his Generation ? *For as none knoweth the* Father, *but the* Son ; *ſo none knoweth the* Son, *but the* Father *who begat him.*

nagine your tranſlating βουλὴ, *Will,* which it does not y, rather than *Counſel,* which it properly does, was to ort your Opinion, that the Generation of the Son of was not by *Neceſſity* of Nature, but *vo-* y by the *Will* of the *Father* when it P. 29. d him ; which, you ſay, is the ſame as Creation, and ſo he would be but a Creature. t ſurely this cannot be the Meaning of this Paſſage, would be inconſiſtent with the plain and expreſs tions in this Place. For,

How can that which was begotten, *not as not being in mes, but being before Eternal Ages, beyond our Ratiocination* ternity, be ſaid to be a Creature.

Οὐ κατὰ διάσπασιν ἢ τομὴν ἢ διαίρεσιν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας πεποιῆσθαι αὐτόν, ἀῤῥήτως δὲ καὶ ἀνεπιλογίστως ἡμῖν ἐξ αἰῶνος καὶ μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνεργείας καὶ ἀπεινοήτε βουλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἐστὶν αὐτόν. Τὴν δὲ γένεσιν αὐτοῦ, φησὶ, τίς διηγήσεται καὶ ὥσπερ ἔγνω τὴν πατέρα εἰ μὴ υἱὸς, οὕτω καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὐδεὶς ἔγνω εἰ μὴ ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ.

2. If

2. If *Eusebius* meant to assert his *Generation* to be a *Creation*, why did he cite the Prophet's Question, which implies a Negative, that *none can declare his Generation*, and give our Saviour's Reason for it, because none knows the *Son* but the *Father*; which Text he quotes in another of his Books with this emphatical Expression, κατ' ἀξίαν, None knoweth the Son *perfectly according to his Dignity*, but the *Father*.

Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 2. p. 5.

And if he meant he was *created* by the *Will* of the Father, why did he add those Epithets of *Inexpressible* and *inconceivable Will*? For tho' we cannot conceive what the Nature and Essence may be of such a *Created* Being, yet we can conceive that *Fact*, as well as that the *World* was *created* by his *Will*, *when he spake the Word and it was made*; if this had been told us as plainly as this has been; or otherwise you must say, that 'tis inconceivable, that an Act of the Will should be an Act of the Will, which is obsurd; nay I may say, 'tis easier to conceive, that He, who was already in Being, as *Eusebius* here says, may be *formed* by Almighty God into *something more excellent*, than it is to conceive a *Creation out of nothing*.

3. If you will insist that βουλὴ shall signifie *Will*, you should at least have translated ἐκ βουλῆς, *of the Will*, but you do θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, *God of God*: For as the Attributes of God being *eternal* and *essential* to the Godhead, the *Will* is so too;

1 John i. 5. Joh. viii. 12.

as the *Father* is *Light*, *Truth*, *Wisdom*, &c. the *Son* is said to be so also, as partaking

John xiv. 6.

and anointed with all the *Paternal* Dignities in the Language of *Eusebius* before-mentioned; and in that of St. *Paul*, *the bright Effulgence of his Glory*, *and the Express Image of his Person*,

Heb. i. 3. Col. i. 13.

and therefore the Son of his *Will* does no more denote his *Creation*, than the *Son* of his *Love*, or the *Son* of *God* do. Nay, 'tis in this manner that the *Nicene* Council has express'd his *Consubstantiality* and *Consubstantiality*, (*) *Light* of *Light*, *very God* of *very God begotten* not *made*: So that when you can prove, that the

Nicene Creed.

(*) Φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα.

end Fathers of that Council intended by those Expressions, that the *Son of God* was a *Creature*, then you may erpret your Quotations of the like Expressions in the Manner, and add, if you please, that this is the Doctr and Faith of the *Church* of *England* too; but 'till then r confident Boasting of your Testimonies will not shake rather root us in *Faith*; such Blustring will be like nd to the strong Oaks, 'twill only fix the Roots more in the Ground.

Eusebius gives us an Account of the Notion ch *Plato* and his Disciple *Plotinus* had of a nity, and speaks of it with some Admira- of their great Penetration: I think this rence may justly be drawn from it, that uch great Men did not think such a Notion to be absurd, ly you have been too forward and rash to censure it as nsistent with the *Light of Nature* and *common Sense*. But, he other hand, if your *Eusebius* has been too much s'd with their Notions, and has any where us'd Expres- suited to it, I leave you to follow your admir'd Exple, and to deduce Christianity from Heathen Philosors, and to explain Divine Mysteries by the Reasonings Man.

Prepar. Evang. l. 4. c. 5, 6.

You bid me suppose my self in a Court of icature, and review the Evidence you e produced; and then consider, whether uld with a safe Conscience determine on the Side of the *Unitarians*. My Answer is, That such Evidence as you e given for your Cause, would not be accepted in any rt by any upright Judge, and consequently you may ly conclude what the Judgment must be; nay, I will , that such a Witness would hardly escape unpunish'd; 'tis his Duty to *speak* the *Truth*, and the *whole Truth*: to mis-translate your Authors, to cite them by halves, with *&c.*, leaving out plain and express Assertions inst you, and adding of your own to them; to distort r plain Words, and to interpret, or, rather, to declare matically their Meaning contradictory to what they is such a Proceeding, as is no less than an Attempt to ose upon Mankind in the most provoking manner.

P. 37.

Nay, you have not only corrupted your own Testimos, but you are prepar'd to baffle the best that can be

brought against you, which is the Scripture, in the very Foundation of all Religion; for you are so fond of your Notion of a *made God*, and that the *Son of God* is a *Creature*, and consequently not *Eternal*, that to avoid the Consequence of the Application to him of the Expressions, which in the Scriptures are us'd to denote the Eternity of God the Father, you have ventur'd upon a very bold Assertion, 'That *this Eternity of the Father is* P. 25. 'ly supposs'd *to be express'd without Proof*; *in no* 'way *appearing*, *that the Sacred Writers meddle* beyond our Fa- 'culties *with any such* absolute Eternity, *either* à parte ante, 'or parte post, *as the Schoolmen have since done.*

Strange Doctrine! but most welcome to *Atheists* and *Debauchees*; and farewel to all *Faith* and *Morality*, and to all Religion which consists of them.

If the *Gospel* which *brought Immortality to Light*, has not plainly and fully declared an *Eternity* so much as *à parte post*, then neither are our *Souls* immortal, nor the *Joys of Heaven*, nor the *Torments of Hell* everlasting; at least the Light of Nature will not be sufficient to convince the Generality of Mankind of these Truths, since both the Light of Nature and of the Gospel too added to *it*, has not been effectual (God knows) with too many of the World in the several Ages of it: But if the Expressions in Scripture of *Eternity à parte post*, should signify no more than, according to your Construction, a Duration to the *End* of the *Age*, or of the *World*, then the State of good and bad Men will end with it; and, which is most absurd, the Happiness of the one, and the Misery of the other, will be at an End before the Perfection and Completion thereof will begin; which will not be till the Day of Judgment, after this World is *dissolv'd*, and *the Elements are melted away with fervent Heat.*

Your Reason you give, why the Sacred Writers meddle not with *Eternity*, is, because it is beyond our Faculties; perhaps *Eternity*, *à parte post*, is not so: Many wicked Men think so little of Death, that one might conclude they fancy an eternal Duration even upon Earth; and some ancient Philosophers and modern Atheists have declar'd their Belief, that the *Earth* will last *for ever*, and that *Matter* was *Eternal* even *à parte ante.*

But if your Reason be good, how comes your Scheme of Religion to be form'd? For you own, that the Gene-

ration

on of the Son of God was in an ineffable manner, that
bove our Faculties: Did you find this in the Scrip-
s? This Part certainly is; but then they meddle be-
d our Faculties; and indeed a *Revelation* from Heaven
imply something, which by *Nature* we could not
w: But if you do not find the rest of your Scheme of
gion there, as most certainly 'tis not; then you have
rtaken a Subject, which the Sacred Writers thought
ard for them; and if your Doctrines be true, then
are some Truths, which the Holy Ghost, who was
d us into all Truth necessary to our Salvation, has
liscover'd to us, but have been reserv'd for you. *Who declare his Generation*? says the Prophet. It seems he
ot foresee that you would undertake to do it, tho' you
owledge it to be ineffable; nay, so particularly, as to
s plainly it was a *Creation*, and even the *Time* of it, *viz.* a *little before* the Creation of the World, when 'Almighty God *rejoic'd on great Work, perceiving that* Wisdom *was presently* creates *her in* himself, *or* out of Substance, *into a* real Being *or* Person; of this you are doubtful; for (as I ob-d before) you cite another Authority, 'that *it was of the* Unbegotten Substance *of the* Fa-r, *but was it self* begotten *by the* Divine wer; *and that he was the* Ancientest *of* d's Creatures; *even so* ancient, *that your Author cared to assign the* Date *of his* Generation *or* Creation. P. 16, 30. P. 26. P. 32.

t you say from *Tertullian* very truly, t other Characteristick is there of God *Eternity*? And are there Scriptures silent in this, with-hich the Father himself would not be *God*? Could Heathen Philosophers speak of this in so *plain* and *lofty* ns, and did the *Holy Ghost* not assist, but so indulge our knes's, as not to speak of it? tho' the most important, use the *Foundation*, of all his other *essential Attributes*. P. 16.

utarch says the Temple of *Isis* had this In-tion: (z) 'I *am all that ever was, and* is, shall be, *and no Mortal has uncover'd my I*:' And tho' we must own, that we see De Iside & Osirid p. 554.

(z) Ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν πέ-πλος οὐδεὶς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν. darkly

darkly and *thro' a Veil*, (for who can comprehend the infinite Perfections of God?) yet, that God muſt be *Eternal*, is ſo plain a Truth, that none who truly believ'd a God, ever deny'd it.

περὶ τοῦ ὄντος, p. 393. And in another Place, he gives a noble and elegant Deſcription of this Eternity, viz. (1) 'God *we muſt ſay*, is, *and* is *with reſpect to* no 'Time, *but of a* timeleſs, immoveable, *and* indeclineable 'Age *or* Eternity; *for which there is no* Before, *or* After, 'Now, *but being* One, *fills a Sempiternity with* one Now, *and* 'in this reſpect *is* ſolely, really Being, *neither* paſt *nor* future, 'neither Beginning *nor* Ending.

In Timæo, p. 37, 38. And *Plato* ſays, (2) *We attribute to the Eternal Being* was *and* ſhall be, *but not* rightly; *for according to* true *Speech or Reaſon, we ſhould ascribe to him only* Is. And accordingly

In Phædro, p. 78. another Place he ſtiles him, τὸ ὄν, *the Being*, which he probably learnt from the Jews and the Writings of *Moſes*, in which God himſelf ſtiles himſelf, *I am*; which ſurely denotes his Eternity: So that it does appear in Scripture, even immediately from God himſelf; and tho' the Manner was above our Faculties, yet the Thing is not ſo; for it was an Anſwer to *Moſes*'s Queſtion, and was to ſatisfy, and it did ſatisfy him and all the *Jews*, to whom he was ſent.

P. 28. But in Support of your Opinion, you ſay 'the *Greek* Language hath Three Ways of 'ſpeaking, which are *ſometimes* render'd Eternal.

'The Firſt, ἀιὼν or περ' ἀιῶνος or περ' ἀιῶνα or περὶ χρόνων ἀιωνίων.

'This you ſay ſeldom or never ſignifies a proper Eternity.

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(1) ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς, χρὴ φάναι, καὶ ἔστι καὶ, οὐδενὶ χρόνου ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ αἰῶνα τὸν ἀκίνητον καὶ ἄχρονον καὶ ἀνέγκλιτον καὶ ἕστηκότα οὐδὲν ὄφειλον οὐδ' ὕστερον, οὐδὲ νεώτερον, ἀλλ' εἷς ἀεὶ ἐνὶ τῷ νῦν τὸν αἰῶνα πεπληρώκε καὶ μόνον ὄντα τὸ κατὰ τὸν ὄντως ὄν, καὶ γεγονὸς, καὶ ἐσόμενον οὐδ' ἀξαμβλον οὐδὲ παυσάμενον.

(2) Τὸ γὰρ ἦν, τὸ γ' ἔσται, χρόνε, γεγενότον ὦδὴ φέροντες λανθάνομεν ὀρθῶς τὸν ἀίδιον οὐσίαν, ἐκ ὀρθῶς, λέγομεν γὰρ ἦν ἐστί τε, καὶ ἔσται, τῇ δὴ τὸ ἔστι μόνον κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον προσήκει.

The Second, ἀϊδιος.
his not always.
The Third, ζυναϊδιος.
his alone always does so.
nd you add, "*'Tis very remarkable, that the Bible and Apo-lical Fathers* never in this Case of the Antiquity of the n use any but the *First*; *None* of these *before* the Coun-l of *Nice more* than the *First*, and very rarely the *Se-nd*, while *Athanasius* and his Followers, and none be-re them, directly ventured on the Third Way of spea-ng, and call'd the Son Coeternal.

his last makes a fair Shew, but indeed is very trifling; if ἀϊδιος does not signify a *proper* Eternity when ap-d to *God*, how can you say that ζυναϊδιος always does for ζυναϊδιος, *Coeternal*, is only *being* with ἀϊδιος, *Eter-*; or being what is, αἰδιος, *Eternal*.

nd there could be no Occasion to stile the Son *Coeternal*, Heretick subtilly and fraudulently call'd him *God*, and deny'd his *Eternity à parte ante*, which was imply'd in ; and therefore to obviate that Fallacy and Equivoca-, 'twas requir'd that they should declare him *Coeternal*, t is, as the *Father* is *Eternal*, so is the *Son*.

And thus did the *Jews* to obviate the reſy of the *Sadducees*; for when the *Form*, which they concluded all their Benedicti-*viz. from Age*, was perverted by the *Sad-es* to their Sense, *viz. of the World*; they ap-nted the Form to be, *From Age* and *to Age*, that is, *of this rld*, and of the *World to come* after the Day of Doom. w in the Nature and Reason of the thing, if the *Son* be *rnal*, he must be *Coeternal* with the *Father*, that is, *Eter-* as well as the *Father*, neither being before or after the er, but *both* existing eternally *together*.

Dr. Hammond *on the New Testament*. p.

As to the other two Ways in *Greek* of expressing Eter-y, I do own, that αἰων and the Derivations from it do metimes in Scripture signify the *Age of the World*, and the *e of the Gospel*, and πρὸ αἰωνος, *before the World began*: But m very sorry the Inference from this Notion, and the pplication of it, has been by you deriv'd from so ill an thority or Example, as that of the *Sadduces*, the worst ct of all the *Jews*.

I do

I do own also, ἀϊδίοις is sometimes apply'd to *Eternity* only *à parte post*, as in *Jude*, ἀϊδίοις δεσμοῖς, *everlasting Chains*: But that these Words do, in *Heathen* Authors, signify a *proper* Eternity where they design it, and *Eternity à parte post*, according to the Subject-Matter, I think, can not be deny'd.

Plato, in the Place before-mention'd, calls God ἀΐδιον ἀρχίαν.

De mundo, p. 847, 869, *Aristotle* in like manner uses, ἀϊ ἀιῶνος, ἐξ ἀιῶν & ἀτέρμονος, to signify *Eternity*.

De Pla. Philos. p. 881. *Plutarch*; ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἀιῶνι, ἐξ ἀιῶνος ὤν.

And if these Words do not signify a *proper* Eternity, I desire you to tell me any *Greek* Words, that have been us'd by any *Greek* Authors, to express it.

And that a *proper* Eternity is design'd to be spoken of in the Scriptures, and that in those Places these Words are used to express it, and cannot there be understood and apply'd to the *Age* of the *Gospel*, or the *Age* or *Beginning of the World*, or *a Time before* the *Beginning* of it; and that these Words are apply'd to the *Son*, as well as to the *Father*, I shall now shew.

P. 28. 'Tis indeed very remarkable, as you say, that the Bible in the Case of the Antiquity of the *Son* never uses any but the First; but if it should be so, 'twill not be subservient to your Purpose, because 'tis as remarkable, that tho' ἀϊδίος is us'd when the *Eternity* of the Father is spoken of, *Rom.* i. 20, *Eternal Godhead*; and *Wisd.* vii. 26. *Eternal Light*; yet *generally* and *almost always*, the First is us'd to express the Eternity of the *Father*, and therefore, if apply'd to the *Son*, it must denote also *his*, not *Antiquity*, but *Eternity*,

Now whether you have not been too rash in asserting that the First *seldom* or *never* signifies a proper Eternity, may be seen by some few Instances of the many which might be produced.

Gen. xxi. 33. The Name of the Lords was there call'd *The Everlasting God.*

Isaiah { xl. 28. / xxvi. 4. } *Everlasting God.*

Rom. xvi. 26.

Dan. iv. 34. *His Dominion* Everlasting,

Hab.

b. iii. 6. *His Ways are* Everlasting.

In all these Places αἰῶν is us'd,

xc. 2. } *From everlasting to everlasting.*
cvi. 48. } ἀπὸ τ̃ αἰῶνος ἕως τ̃ αἰῶνος.

xli. 13. *From everlasting to everlasting.*
ἀπὸ τ̃ αἰῶνος εἰς τ̀ αἰῶνα.

xciii. 2. *Thou art from everlasting.*
ἀπὸ τ̃ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ.

xxix. x. *The Lord is King for ever.*

cxix. 89. *For ever thy Word is settled in Heaven.*

xxxii. 40. *I lift up my Hand to Heaven, and say, I live for ever.*

xii. 7. *Sware by him who liveth for ever.*
εἰς τ̀ αἰῶνα

iv. 9. *Who liveth for ever and ever.*

v. 11. *To him be Glory——for ever and ever.*
εἰς τὲς αἰῶνας τ̃ν αἰώνων.

h x. 16. *The Lord is King for ever and ever.*
εἰς τ̀ αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τ̀ αἰῶνα τ̃ αἰῶνος.

a lvii. 15. *Who inhabiteth Eternity.*
κατοικῶν τ̀ αἰῶνα.

cxlv. 13. *Thy Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom:*
βασιλεία πάντων αἰώνων.

ow if these and many more such Texts should be in-
ted of the *Age* of the *World*, or of the *Gospel*, how un-
y must such a Construction be of the Majesty and
ious Attributes of God? and indeed how *absurd*? for
they will run thus:

e God of the *Age*, who inhabits the *Age*.

s Power, Dominion, Kingdom and Ways are of the *Age*.

s Word remaineth even in Heaven, but to the *Age*, or *End of the World*.

ho is to be praised from the Beginning of the *Age* to the End of the *Age*.

ho from the *Age*, or *Beginning of the World*, is God, or
s and lives to the End of the World: So that he be-
gins and ends with the World.

ow then is εἰς τὲς αἰῶνας to be translated in the
's Prayer? Is the *Kingdom*, the *Power* and the *Glory* of
to the *Ages* only, or the End of the *World*? And does
the

the Son of God teach us, when we pray, to say so? St. *Paul* says, *the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are* αἰώνια, *eternal*; but according to your Notion you must render it, are to the *End of the World*, that is, are *temporal*. Is not this absurd, and turning the Scripture into *Nonsense*?

2 Cor. iv. 18.

Could the Heathens happily find an *Eternal Godhead*, and have the inspir'd Prophets spoke of *him* and his *Dominion* is only of this World? Is this the *sure Word of Prophecy*, *the Light that shines in a dark Place*? And is this Light, and the Light of the Gospel too, more dim than the Light of Nature and our Reason, by which we are assur'd he must be *Infinite* and *Eternal*, or not God? And is this Truth not to be mention'd in Scripture, lest it should dazzle our Eyes, and yet was *revealed unto Babes*? Why are we *turn'd back to weak and beggarly Rudiments* to learn from *Nature*, and owe to it our *Faith* of this fundamental Article of all Religion, and deny it to *Revelation* and the Voice of God himself from Heaven, *I am*?

1 Pet. i. 19.

Matt. xi. 25, 27.

Gal. iv. 9.

But in the Words of our Saviour, *If you had known me, you would have known my Father also*; you would certainly have allow'd these Expressions to have fully denoted an *absolute* Eternity; (for in the *Greek* Authors they are generally so understood;) but you apprehend the Consequence which is inevitable, that if the same things, and indeed the inseperable Perfections of God and Eternity be attributed to the *Son*, as well as to the *Father*, then he must be *God* equal to the *Father*: But rather than allow *Eternity* to the *Son*, you chuse (I will not say to deny, tho' your Construction of αἰώνιος in the before-mention'd Texts amounts to it, but) to take from us the best Evidence we can have of the *Eternity* of the Father himself, which is the Revelation he has given us of himself in the Scriptures,

John viii. 19.

I should now mention some of the many Texts, which plainly and fully express and declare in the same Terms, or equivalent with the above-mention'd, the *Divinity* of our Saviour, his *Eternity*, and other *essential incommunicable* Attributes of the Supreme God: But this will be more proper after I have consider'd the Texts of Scripture, which

ch you have quoted to support your Doctrine: Which
w proceed to do.

he first Text you quote is out of the *Pro-* Chap. viii.
, which you render thus, *p.* 9.

be Lord created, *me the* Beginning *of his* V. 22.
s for his Works.

efore the World he founded me, in the Begin V. 23.
before he made the Earth.

efore *the Fountains of Water came.* V. 25.

efore *the Mountains were ſaſtned, he begat me* V. 25.
re *the Hills.*

he Word in the *Septuagint* is indeed ἔκτισε created; but
op *Patrick* in his Comment ſays, that according to the
ew Verity. 'This Text, if it belongs to this Matter,
pears to have been, as St. *John* ſpeaks, with the Fa-
er *in the Beginning*, being his only Begotten before all
orlds; and ſo the *Hebrew* Word, which we tranſlate
eſs, ſometimes ſignifies in Scripture, and is render'd by
e *Septuagint* in another Place, *viz. Zech.* iii. 5. γέννησόν με.

bſerve, that in the 25th Verſe 'tis, *he begat me*, which
s to agree with what Biſhop *Patrick* ſays of the Sig-
ation of the *Hebrew* Word in the 22d Verſe, and ex-
ns what is meant by *created*; not that Created and Be-
en are the ſame thing, as I have ſhewn before out of
ullian, and what I have ſaid upon it.

eſides, you render, and ſo do our Bibles, the 25th
ſe, he *begat* me; but it ſhould be, *begets*
γεννᾷ με, in the Preſent Tenſe; and *Ori-* 9. Hom. in
's Obſervation upon it is very juſt, *viz.* Jerem.
e generates me before the Hills; he did P. 106.
ot ſay *begat*, but *begets*, by which Sempiternity is ſigni-
d, as *Origen* ſays in another Place cited by you, and of
ich I have taken notice before, with whom it is *always*
ay; and, as *Plato* ſaid, *It* is the only proper Term to be
d of God.

nd what you render in the 23d Verſe, *before* the *World*,
l our Bibles, *Everlaſting*, the Words are πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων
this I have ſpoken already, and ſhewn how improper
ir Conſtruction is.

But I muſt go back to Biſhop *Patrick*, who ſays indeed,
t the Ancient Chriſtians thought this Text might be

apply'd to the *Son* of *God*, the *Eternal Wisdom*, (and the Authors, which I have here before cited, have done so, but very differently from your Construction of them) but he adds, that they were not resolved whether they ought not to be apply'd to him rather in his human Nature; and he delivers his own Opinion, that *Solomon* thought of nothing but the wise Directions God had given them in his Word reveal'd to them by *Moses* and the *Prophets*.

And really your own following Quotations out of *Ecclesiasticus*, do confirm Bishop *Patrick*'s Construction of *Wisdom* in this Chapter of the *Proverbs*, as I shall shew; which will also be an Answer to them, and be a further Conviction of your unfair Representation of your Quotations, and of your treating your *Texts*, as you, have done your *Testimonies*.

The First is out of *Eccl.* i. 4. *Wisdom hath been created before all things.*

Now it is evident, that this is meant of *Wisdom*, as it signifies the *Grace of God*, or in Bishop *Patrick*'s Words, the wise Directions given by God; for Verse 9. '*She is with* '*all Flesh according to his Gift, and he hath given her to them that* '*love him*: And Verse 14. *To fear the Lord is* '*the Beginning of Wisdom, and it was created* '*with the Faithful in the Womb.* And Verse 20. *To fear the Lord is call'd the Root of Wisdom.* Now what can this *Wisdom* be, but that which *Solomon* had ask'd of God for himself, and God had given to him? How can it be apply'd to the *Son of God*, as the *Wisdom* of God? Is the Fear of God the *Beginning*, the *Root* of him? Was he *created* with the Faithful in the Womb? And Verse 5. The *Word of God* in the highest is the Fountain of *Wisdom*. Now either the *Word* of God here is the *Son* of *God*, and then Wisdom must necessarily be taken in the Sense which I haven mention'd: For the *Word* or *Wisdom* of God, as denoting the *Son*, can't be the Fountain of the *Wisdom* or of the *Son* of *God*; or if the Word of God be taken for the Directions given by God, &c. then *Wisdom* must be understood to be the Fruits and Effects thereof, which is the thing I was to prove.

Μετὰ πιστῶν ἐν μήτρᾳ ἐκτίσθη αὐτοῖς. 2 Chron. i. 10.

Λόγος.

And this Construction will be further evident by the 24th Chapter, out of which you have taken your next

Quotation

Quotation; and which is introduced by a Question, *v.* 7. as ask'd by Wisdom, which you have omitted: *In whose Inheritance shall abide?* And the Answer is given *v.* 8. which you cite part: '*Then the Creator of all things gave me a Commandment, and he that created me caus'd my Tabernacle to rest*——' Here you stop with a Stroke according to your Custom; for the next Words are an Answer to the Question, and would have shewn, that your Quotation was not to your purpose: Like him who ask'd, *What is Truth?* and went away without staying for an Answer. The Words which follow are: P. 9, 10.

And said, Let thy Dwelling be in Jacob, and thine Inheritance in Israel. And v. 10. *In the holy Tabernacle I serv'd before him, and so was I establish'd in Sion, likewise in the belov'd City he gave me Rest.* And v. 23. *All these things are the Book of the Covenant of the most High God, even the Law which* Moses *commanded for an Heritage unto the Congregations of Jacob.* These fully explain what *Wisdom* is spoken of in this Chapter, *viz.* That it was the *Law*, and those Divine Instructions which God had given more particularly to the *Jews*, and which are said in the Scripture to make them wise, and *wiser than their Enemies*, who had no Knowledge of God's Laws. Psal. xix. 7. cxix. 98.

And the 20th Verse (*My Memorial is sweeter than Honey, and my Inheritance than the Honey comb*) is the same as in Psal. 19. 9, 10. *The Judgments of the Lord are sweeter than Honey and the Honey-comb.*

And the 18th Verse (*I am the Mother of Love, Fear, Knowledge, and holy Hope*) is most properly apply'd to *Wisdom*, as it is the *Grace of God*, and the Divine Assistance; for it is God's Grace that begets these Vertues in us.

But if you will still apply Wisdom here to the Son of God, then the 18th Verse stiles him ἀϊδιότητος, *Eternal*, or *Begotten from Eternity.* And Verse 36. *He that sinneth against me wrongeth his own Soul.* Surely there is no Sin but against God.

There are some Passages in the *Psalms* so exactly parallel to your Text out of the *Proverbs*, that one would think *Solomon* had learnt and transcrib'd them into his *Proverbs* from *Moses* and *David*, as the Son of *Sirach* who imitated *Solomon*, did from him.

Psalm

Ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ.

Psalm xc. 2. *Before the Mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst form'd the Earth and the World*; even *from everlasting thou art God*; or *from everlasting to everlasting thou art.*

Now if the Text in the *Proverbs*, *Before the World, before he made the Earth*, and *before the Mountains*, do signify the *Beginning* of *Wisdom*: And *Eccl.* i. 9. *Wisdom shall not fail to the End of the World* (according to your Translation of these Texts) then you ought to construe the same Expressions in the 90th *Psalm* of the Almighty God in the same manner, *viz.* That he did begin, but, as *Wisdom* did, before the World, and shall last to the End of it; which would be Blasphemy: And nevertheless, to my Astonishment, you do so construe it; for *p.* 6. you cite this *Psalm*, and render it, from *the Age to the Age*, or from the *Beginning* of the World *to the End* of the World, thou art God.

Psalm xciii. 2. *The Lord reigneth——the World also is establish'd, that it cannot be moved.* Ver. 3. *Thy Throne is establish'd of* Old; *thou art from* Everlasting.

His Comment.

If this be apply'd to the Son of God, of whom the *Jews* affirm, (as Bishop *Patrick* says) this was a Prophecy, surely this sufficiently expresses *Eternity*; or if it be said of *God* the *Father*, then your Construction of this will be as bad as the former, for the Words are the same; or if you will let them be understood as they ought to be, of the *Eternity* of *God*, you must in Justice understand the Text in the *Proverbs* in like manner, of the *Eternity* of the *Son*, if he be meant by *Wisdom* in that Place.

Before I dismiss your Texts out of the *Proverbs*, I must say something to the latter Part of the 22d Verse, *The Beginning of his Ways.*

To this it might suffice to say, that if *the Ways of God are everlasting*, as is said *Hab.* iii. 6. then the *Beginning* of those Ways must be *everlasting* too; or, to speak more properly, there is *no Beginning* of them. God the Father is said to be *the Beginning and the End*; surely this signifies his *Eternity*, for you will not say he has either; and this is said in the *Revelation* more than once of the Son too. But let us consider what else this Word ἀρχὴν, which you render the *Beginning*, may signifie in this Place; for to interpret

it ſo as to make *Wiſdom*, or the *Son of God*, the *First* his *Ways*; or, as you mean, of the Creation, and ſo a of it is moſt abſurd, as well as untrue, as I ſhall ſhew

nd by.

ἀρχὴ ſignifies not only *Beginning* but alſo *Principle*, cipality, *Dominion*, *Power*; and in theſe Senſes is uſed in beſt *Greek* Authors, and in the Bible.

riſtotle has wrote a Book, which he entitles περὶ ἀρχῶν r *concerning Principles*; and ſo has *Origen* too.

nd both *Ariſtotle* and *Plato* agree, (a) that

' *the Principle is unmade*; *for by the Prin-* In Phædro, *it is of Neceſſity that every thing that is* p. 245. *de, be made.*

nd your Quotation out of *Clem. Alex.* as our ſelf render it, agrees with this Sig- P. 10. tion of the Word, ' *God who made the Be-*ng *or Principle* of all things: And you add, *Peter* per- well underſtood that Expreſſion, *In the Beginning*, or *Principle*, God made the Heaven and the Earth.

nd ſo is ἀρχὴ by *Juſtin* us'd in your Quotation out of if you would have truly rendred that Paſſage.

hy then will you not allow it the ſame Signification in Text of the *Proverbs*, ſince it perfectly agrees with you do allow, *viz.* that the World was made by the , or *Wiſdom* of God; or, in the Words of *Peter* and *nt*, the *Principle*? And this very Text of the *Proverbs* es this Conſtruction; for the Concluſion of the Verſe ἔργα αὐτῦ, *for his Works*; and thus the two Parts of Verſe will agree very well, *the Principle of his Ways for orks*; but then the Conſequence will be, that the *Son od* (if he be meant here by *Wiſdom*, which I think he t) was not *created*, for the *Principle* is *unmade*.

d why may not even the word *Beginning* be equivalent *inciple*; for *Origo*, which ſignifies *Beginning*, is made an ſh word, *Origin*, and ſignifies alſo the *Source* or *Spring*-

he other Signification of ἀρχὴ, *viz.* *Principality*, *Domini-*ower, is very proper and applicable to the *Eternal* Wiſ-

(a) Ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἀγένητον· ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἀνάγκη πᾶν τὸ γιγνόμενον σθαι,

dom

dom of God; for he directs, orders, and governs us, and the whole Creation; as the Prophet says, Isa. ix. 6. ἡ ἀρχὴ *The*, or *whose Government* (not whose *Beginning*) *shall be upon his Shoulders.* And so in the following Verse, (not his *Beginning*, but) his Μεγάλη ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῦ *Government* or *Dominion* is great. And thus *Tertullian* expounds both the Signification of P. 416. §. 19. Adv. Hermog. the Word ἀρχὴ and the Application of it: And most certainly the Text in *Deut.* xxxiii. 37. must be so understood, which, as it is in the *Septuagint*, must be rendred, *the* Power Σκεπάσει σε θεὸς ἀρχὴν. *or* Dominion *of God shall cover thee*; for surely you will not translate it, the *Beginning* of God, who has *no* Beginning. And so *Jude* the 6th, ἀρχὴν is rendred in the Margin, *Principality*; and so also *Col.* i. 16. ἀρχαὶ *Principalities.*

There is another Account which may be given of this Text, and is certainly true of the *Son*, as the *Wisdom* of God, (tho' I take it from a Book, whose Authority you will not allow, nor I assert) *viz.* He is the Origen. *Way that leads to God*; and in this respect he ὁδὸς ἀρχῶν. may very properly be the *Beginning* of his p. 672. Ways, and yet no *created* Being; for surely 'twas this *Wisdom*, this *Logos*, that instructed the Old World, and came at last into it, to shew them a *more excellent Way*; agreeable to this he says, John xiv. 6. χωρὶς. *I am the Way: No man cometh unto the Father but by me*; and *without* (or *severed*) *from me, ye* John xv. 5. Phil. iv. 13. *can do nothing.* And St. *Paul* says, *I can do all* Heb. xii. 2. ii. 10. *things thro' Christ which strengtheneth me.* And as he is stil'd the *Author of our Faith, and the Captain*, or Leader, *of our Salvation*, (in both Places ἀρχηγὸς.) he may be properly said to be the *Beginning of his Ways, for his Works*; for as we are his Workmanship, so he shews us *the Paths of* Psal. xvi 11. xxiii. 3. *Life*, and *leads us in the Paths of Righteousness, in* cxxxix. 24. *the Way everlasting*; and *the Word of God is a* cix. 105. *Light unto our Paths, that our Footsteps slip not.* xvii. 5. Upon the whole, as Bishop *Patrick* says, the ancient Fathers thought this Text might be apply'd to the *Son* of *God*; so it was not apply'd to prove him a *Creature.* On the contrary, your

Eusebius

bius in the Chapter before cited, when he says that *Solo-*
gives us the same Sense, *viz.* that he was *Jehovah*, he
mediately cites this Text of the *Proverbs*; surely you
not say, that he first makes *Solomon* assert
Divinity, and then quote his Words to P. 760.
ve him a *Creature*. And *Pamphilus* (t) in
Apology for *Origen*, immediately cites this Text, after
ad reckon'd into the Number of Hereticks, those
deny'd him to be the *First begotten*, and the *God* of the
Creation, and the *Word*, and *Wisdom*, which is the *Be-*
ng of his Ways.

ut as positive as you are, that this Text, *Prov.* viii. 22.
ull Proof, that *Wisdom* (which you interpret to be the
f *God*) was *created*; I find, *p.* 35. that you have quo-
renæus for applying this same Text to the *Holy Spirit*;
you, in like manner, infer from thence, that the *Holy*
was *created by God*: I have already shewn, that it is not
understood of the *Son* of *God*; and you have furnish'd
with Arguments, that it cannot be construed of the *Holy*
; for you make him to be the *Creature* of the *Son* of
and not immediately of *God* the *Father*; and if you
say he was the *Creature* of *God* the *Father by* the *Son*, yet
can you make him, as is said, v. 22. the *Beginning* of
Ways, or, in your Language, *the First* of the *Creation*;
ou say, *p.* 37. he was not of equal Antiquity with the
nor can there be *Two Firsts*, or *Two Beginnings*; nor
the *Holy Ghost*, the *Creature*, be before his *Creator*, *scil.*
on, by whom he was *created*.

his is what I have to offer in Answer to your Three
Texts, *p.* 9. and in some Measure to the last out of
Revelation, *c.* iii. 14. So far as relates to the Construc-
f the Word ἀρχὴ and must be my Excuse for the
gth of what I have said upon them.

ome now to your Text, *Col.* i. 15. And First to the
Part of it, 'Who is the Image of the *Invisible God*.
his Text which is here render'd *Image*, εἰκὼν and so 2
iv. 4. is in *Hebr.* i. 3. χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.
Character of his Subsistance or Person; and the Words

(t) Eos, qui primogenitum eum negant & totius Crea-
Deum & verbum & sapientiam quæ est initium via-
Dei.

immediately

Ἀπαύγασμα immediately preceding are. The *Brightness* (or bright Emanation) of his *Glory*, equivalent to that in *Wisd. c.* vii. *v.* 26. of the *Eternal Light*: Now what has been already said of this *Splendor* and *Emanation* of the *Eternal Light*, may partly explain what is meant by χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως and by εἰκὼν; For it cannot be imagin'd that the first should be inseparable, a necessary *Emanation* from, and the same with the *Eternal* Light, and yet the very next Words should declare him to be such an Image as is but a Picture, a Representation of it, but in Nature and Essence different from it: And χαρακτὴρ properly signifies the *Impression*; the *Form*; so that in *Him*, I may say, was imprinted the *Godhead*,

Col. ii. 9. or as the Apostle says, *In Him dwelleth all the Fulness of the Godhead*: And, as He again says,

Phil. ii 6. who being in the *Form of God, thought it not Robbery to be equal with God*; and who can be equal with *God*, or in the *Form* of *God*, but who is *God*, Infinite and Eternal? And that the Apostle so means, is plain by the Expression following, which is applied to his *Manhood Taking the Form of a Servant, being made in the likeness of Man*: So then we must either with the *Gnosticks* deny the Reality of Christ's Coming in the Flesh, or we must own that He by being in the *Form of God*, was declar'd by the Apostle as *truly* God and not barely, in your Sense, the *Image* of God, as by being in the *Form* of a *Servant*, and in the *Likeness* of *Man* He was *really* Man, and not the *Appearance* only of a Man.

And in the second *Cor.* iv. 4. where 'tis again said, *Who is the Image of God*, 'tis said in the 6th *Verse*, *God hath shined in our Hearts, to give the Light of the Knowledge of the Glory of God in the Face, or rather the Person, of Jesus Christ*: For so also σωσωσον signifies, and is so rendred, *c.* ii. 10 And Dr. *Hammond* in his *Commentary* says Christ represents Almighty God to us, not as a Picture does the Body, but as a real substantial Image of him.

And the very next Verse in the Text *Hebr.* i. 3. of which we have been speaking are *upholding* all Things by his *Power*, which none can do but *God* who is *omnipotent*.

I do own that εἰκὼν does properly in the common Acceptation of the Word signify an *Image* or *Picture* of a Thing; but as, I hope, I have shewn it does not, It cannot so signify in the Places aforesaid; so it will be plain, that this

is Word here must signify *not* a *Picture*, but a *full*, *lively*, d *perfect Image*. By another Text in this Epistle to the brews, c. x. v. 1. 'The *Law having a Shadow of the good hings to come, and not the very Image (or Image it) of the Things.* — Here the *Image* of the iings must signify a *full* and *perfect* Image the Things themselves; or else if Image signifies only *Picture* or *Representation*, 'tis no more than *Shadow*, and n 'tis no *Antithesis*, which was necessary in this Argument the Apostle, nay, 'tis a *Contradiction* in the very same tence; for it will run thus, The Law having a *Shadow* and not having the *very* Shadow.

οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα.

come now to the Second Part of your xt, *Col.* i. 15, the *First born* of every *Creature*, of the *Creation*, as it is rendred, *Rev.* iii. 14. I cited by you, *p.* 10. from whence you would infer Saviour to be a *Creature*, tho' the *First born* and the *chief* them.

Κτίσεως.

But if you would have added the next Verse, and what ows, it would manifestly have appeared that he could be one of them, for it is said,

For by him *were* all *Things* created *that are in* aven, *and that are in* Earth, visible *and* invile; *whether they be* Thrones *or* Dominions, Principalities, *or* Powers, *all Things were ted* by *him and* for *him*

Ver. 16. Ἀρχαὶ.

Hence it will follow, that if *He made* all *Things in Heaven Earth*; and as St. *John* adds that *without was not* any Thing *made that was made*: rely, He *himself* was *not* made; for a *Crea*e could not make *himself*: All Things are God and *by* God, *Aristotle* could say: But need not the Divine Authority of the ptures, nor the Sagacity of a Philoso*er*, common Sense is sufficient to inform us, that the *Ma*cannot be a Part of the Things *made*.

C. i. 2. χωρὶς αὐτοῦ. Aristot. de Mundo, p. 858.

And the following Verse would have told you, that he s God, *For it pleased the* Father *that in Him uld* all Fulness *dwell, or* all Fulness *was pleato dwell in him*; and what that *Fulness* is, see in the 2d Chapter, *v.* 9. *all the Fulness of Godhead*; which Text is introduced in a

Ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησε πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι.

very remarkable Manner, as if the Apostle had foreseen what he says in another Place, that *the* Wise, *the* Scribe, *the* Disputer *of this World*, (*to whom the Doctrine concerning* Christ, *was Foolishness*, tho' *he truly was the* Power *of* God, *the* Wisdom *of* God) might attempt to pervert others from the true Christian Faith. (For, as I observ'd before of the *Platonists*, *Tertullian* says of the Philosophers in general, that they were *Haereticorum Patriarchæ*.) He cautions the *Colossians* against their Insinuations in the Verse immediately preceding, *Beware lest any Man spoil* (or make a Prey of or insnare) *you, thro' Philosophy and vain Deceit, after the Rudiments of this World, and not after Christ: For in him dwelleth all the* Fulness *of the Godhead bodily*. And Dr. *Hammond* observes, that as σῶμα is often lost in the Genitive Case following it; as, σώματος Μες σῶμα Χριστ *Christ*; so here σωματικῶς *Bodily*, may be taken in the same Sense by *Identity* of his very Essence.

1 Cor. i. 20. 28. 29.

Adv. Jud. c. 9. p. 142.

Comment. 465.

And I think it is very observable, that when in the 15th *Verse* he had stil'd Him the *First-born of every Creature*, the next Verse begins, *For*, ὅτι or *because*, *By him were all Things created*, &c. Now if the Apostle had meant to assert him in the 15th *Verse* to be a *Creature*, the Reason he gives for it, or the Argument he uses to prove it in the 16th *Verse*, *viz.* Because *he himself created all Things*, is the most surprising that ever was urg'd by Man; especially by that Apostle, who had asserted that the Creation of the World was a full Proof of the *Eternal Godhead*; and therefore could not now consistently with himself make it also the Proof of a *Creature*: So that if when he undertook to declare to the *Athenians* the *unknown God*, and *whom they ignorantly worshipp'd*, the Philosophers, or even Men of common Sense had heard him reasoning in this Manner, they would with Justice have cry'd out, *What will this Babler have?* What I have here before said of the Signification of ἀρχὴ may serve also to explain the Meaning of *First-born* in this Text: For tho' the literal and primary Signification of πρωτότοκος be *first-born*, yet as *Primogeniture* gave to the Eldest a Superiority

Rom. i. 20.

Acts. xvii. 18.

ty and Dominion over his Brethren: So in this Sense ought to be taken here; and the 18th Verse of this loss. leads us plainly to it; for 'tis said, *is the* Head *of the Body the Church, the* ginning, *the* First-born *from the Dead, that ll Things he might have the* Pre-eminence, *more litterally, be* Chief.

Πρωτεύων ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν Πρωτότοκος.

o 1 *Chron.* 26. 10. *because there was no Eldest, his Father e him the* Chief *or Ruler*; which Privilege belong to the *Eldest*, and which, as such, night of Right have claim'd.

Ἀρχόντα

o when *Isaac* had made *Jacob Lord* over Brethren, or of his Brother, *Esau* com- 'd, that *Jacob* had supplanted him, and n away his (πρωτοτοκία, Rights of) *right*, and the Blessing which apper- d to it.

Gen. xxvii. 29. Τῆ ἀδελφῆ.

nd *Psal.* lxxxix. 27. I will make him my *First-born* er than the *Kings* of the *Earth*; that is, says Dr. *mond, the most glorious* of them, for literally *David* could be the *First-born.*

he literal Translation of this Verse seems ner to this Sense, I will place him (leav- out *my*) *First-born*; that is, set him in Station of the *First born* or *Eldest*, make *Chief*, as in the *Chronicles* before-menti- ; or *Lord*, as *Isaac* did *Jacob.*

Κἀγὼ πρωτότοκον Θήσομαι αὐτὸν.

is said, *Hebr.* xii. 23. ye are call'd to *the general As-* of the *Church of the First-born:* Must this be constru- terally of the Church of the *First-born* or *Eldest*, as 'tis ne 78th *Psalm, v.* 51. *he smote all the* First-born *in* ? No, surely; this is meant, and so *Hammond* expounds it, of the *Apostles* and *Converts* to Christianity; and so *Epenetus* l'd the *first Fruits* of *Achaia*, those who the *first Fruits* of the Spirit.

Rom. xvi. 5. viii. 23.

nd St. *Paul* tells us, another Title our Saviour had to Appellation of the *First born*, viz. *Whom foreknow, he also did predestinate to be con- d to the Image of his Son, that he might be* irst-born *among many Brethren:* Or as he is stil'd, *Hebr.*

Rom. viii. 29.

Ἀρχηγὸς. *Hebr.* ii. 10. in Terms equivalent, *the Captain of their Salvation, whom,* v. 11. *he was*
Ἀρχηγὸς. *not ashamed to call Brethren*; or as it is *Hebr.* xii. 2. *the Author and Finisher of their Faith.*

To conclude this Point; surely there are many figurative Expressions, which it would be absurd to construe literally; *I am the Vine; this is my Body*, &c. Nay, some Things, which are said of Men, cannot be so taken neither; *a new Creature, created in Christ unto good Works, born again*, &c. Shall we say, like *Nicodemus, Can a Man enter the second Time into his Mother's Womb?* To which, and to all such Constructions, there needs no other Answer than what our Saviour gave to him, *Art thou a*
John iii. 10. *Master of Israel, and knowest not these Things?*

There remains but one Text more which you have cited, *viz.* Hebrews iii. 2. *Who was faithful to*
ποιήσαντι. *him that,* { in our Translation, *appointed* } *him,*
{ in your Translation, *made* }

P. 31. And you say, 'that *the Author to the* Hebrews 'directly affirms, *That* God *made* Christ, which 'in the 4th Century was reckon'd so Heterodox, that this Epistle 'was in some Places seldom read in Publick; and that partly on 'of the Dread of such an Expression;' as *Philastrius* assures.

I have not that Book, so I can't trace you in this Quotation: But I wonder that it was possible for any Man to dread this Expression or Text; for I will with great Assurance, affirm, That the Apostle does not say, that God *made* Christ in your Sense, or in any Sense, that even an *Athanasian* (as you term us) will not acknowledge with *Joy*, and with *a full Assurance* of Faith; But that you should so translate and apply this Text to prove the Son of God a *Creature*, and charge the Apostle with asserting it expressly, I would not have believ'd from any Man but your self; for surely never was any Part of the Scripture so perverted and distorted to serve a Turn.

I do agree that ποιέω does signify to *make* in your Sense, and you cannot deny that it also signifies to *appoint* or *constitute*; and that it is so us'd sometimes in Scripture.

1 Chron. xxvi. 10.
His Father. { *made him Chief.*
{ Ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα.

Rev.

Rev. i. 6.

He hath made us Kings and Priests.
Ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς.

Mark iii. 14. *He* ordained *Twelve.*
Ἐποίησε δώδεκα.

Hebr. v. 5.

Christ glorify'd *to be* made *an High-Priest.*
not himself. Γενηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα.

Which Word γενηθῆναι more strongly denotes *making* in our Sense, than ποιῆσαι; and yet surely no Man will make so ridiculous a Construction of any of these Texts as to call them *Creations*, as you would have this 3d *Heb.* to be understood; which plainly signifies no more than *ordaining*, or, if you please, *making* him our *High-Priest*; as will be most evident.

This Third Chapter begins thus:

Wherefore, holy Brethren, consider the Apostle and High-Priest of our Profession Christ Jesus, who was Faithful to him that appointed } *him*
made }

Wherefore denotes an Inference from some Premisses, and leads to the Context, and the foregoing Verses at the end of the second Chapter, *viz.*

Forasmuch then as Children are Partakers of Ver. 14.
Flesh and Blood, he also himself took Part of the same, that thro' Death he might destroy him, that had the Power of Death, that is, the Devil.

For——he took on him the Seed of Abraham. 16.

Wherefore in all Things it behov'd him to be made like unto his Brethren, that he might be a Ver. 17.
merciful and faithful High-Priest, *in Things pertaining to God to make Reconciliation for the Sins of the People.*

For in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted. 18.

Then follows the Third Chapter, *Wherefore, holy Brethren*, &c. as above.

You may see that the whole Discourse of the Apostle relates to his human Nature; *He took upon him Flesh and Blood, and in all Things was made like unto his Brethren*; and the

the Reason given for it is, *That he might be a merciful and faithful High-Priest in Things pertaining to God*; and then to offer up himself a Sacrifice *to make Reconciliation for the Sins of the People*: Was it not in this Respect, *as Man*, that he dy'd? For, surely, 'tis Blasphemy to say, that his Godhead dy'd; and yet I know not how you can avoid it, if you apply your Text to his *Divine Nature*. Was it not, *as Man*, that he became our *High-Priest*? Do not you argue from thence against *Polycarp*'s and *Justin*'s calling him *Eternal* High-Priest? P. 25. Was it not the *High-Priest* that was *faithful*? If then he that was *faithful* was the *High-Priest*; if the *High Priest* was he that *dy*'d for us; and in order to it, *took our Flesh and Blood*, and *became Man*, then it was *as such*, viz. *as Man*, that the Apostle says he was *made* and *constituted* High-Priest, who, as St. *Paul* says, *ever liveth to make Intercession for us*. Heb. vii. 25.

I must also take notice that he is here stil'd Apostle too, or as the Word signifies, *Messenger*: Now he was that Messenger *as Man*, *to bring us the glad Tydings of Salvation*, and to teach us an holy Religion, by which we might obtain it: So that he, who was *made* or *constituted* an Apostle and High-Priest, may also be said to be *made*, because both as an *Apostle* and *High-Priest* he was *Man*, and was therefore *made Man*, that he might be *Both*.

I have now gone thro' and examin'd your Texts and your Testimonies; and, I hope, have shewn that the *One* are either not applicable to your Purpose, or very short of proving what you aim at: And for the *other*, I am very sorry I must say you have very grossly corrupted your Witnesses: Such Evidence is enough to spoil even a good Cause; but I must own it is very proper for a bad one, which with such only can, with any Colour, be supported: Nevertheless you do, in a very pompous Manner, sum up your Evidence; but I can't be convinced by it, for your *Premisses* do not warrant your *Conclusion*, nor *ought I to be carry'd about and toss'd to and fro with with every Wind of Doctrine by the Sleight of Men*; and this Advice is repeated *Hebr.* 13. Eph. iv. 14. where after the Apostle had in the 8th *Verse* told us, that Jesus Christ *was the same Yesterday, and to Day, and for ever*; he adds in the 9th Verse, *be not carried about with strange*

Doc-

ctrines; and *Rom.* viii. 17. he prays us to *beware of them t cause Divisions and Offences contrary to the Doctrine we have nt.* And indeed I wonder that the Proofs, which you e produced, could pervert you from the Faith into ich you were baptiz'd: But the *Spirit ex-*
ly speaketh, that in the latter Times some shall Tim. I. iv. 1.
rt from the Faith; and the last Verse of the eding Chapter tells us, what that Faith was, *viz. The t Mystery of Godliness*, God *manifested in the Flesh.* But who had their Denomination from a Pretence of ter Knowledge and clearer Insight into the Mysteries he Christian Religion than others, were the Men, who t corrupted the Doctrines of it by their strange Opi-s; and they were the *unstable who wrest-*
or perverted or deprav'd) *the Scriptures,* 2 Pet. iii. 16.
h surely are *profitable for Doctrine and In-* Στρεβλοῦσιν.
tion: And 'tis a terrible Threatning pro- 2 Tim. iv. 16.
ced by *David* to the Adversaries of Christ,
repeated by St. *Paul, Let their Eyes be* Psa. lxix. 19.
med that they see not; *and let that, which* Rom. xi. 19.
uld have been for their Welfare, become a Stum- Σκάνδαλον.
-block, an Occasion of their Falling, and *their* ἀνταπόδομα.
mpence.

stating the Text and Testimonies on both Sides, you begun with the Texts cited by Mr. *Seaton*, and have tion'd most, but not all of them: And you have ught it a sufficient Answer to insert your Interpretation ne Terms, *Eternal, Eternity*, by the Words *Age* and the *l*, of which I have already said what occurr'd to me.

ou have also, with a seeming Generosity, added some imonies from the Fathers, in which also you insert Construction of *Eternity*, and very remarkably in 8th and 9th Pages your Author calls Christ's Genera- ἀναρχον, *Beginningless*; and you help us to under-l, according to your Notion, but contrary to the Sig-ation of the Word, His Generation *Only* before the nning of the World.

hen you sum up all by saying,
These Passages out of Eusebius, *&c. bid* P. 9.
fairest for a real Eternity of the Son; yet plain from other Passages, that all of them were ut-ly against a proper *Eternity* of *the Son*, as we shall see reafter.

By

By which last Words I suppose you mean your Quotations on the other Side. These I have examin'd, and will, with some Confidence, affirm, that you have by no Means made good your Assertion; and since you say, that 'P. 24. *these are the principal Original Texts and Testimonies which concern the important Subject before us,*' I might venture to leave the Matter here, and say to you, in your own Words, *p.* 37. *If you will soberly review only your own Evidence,* and *state it fairly, without putting Words into your Witnesses Mouths,* and *make a just Construction of your Quotations:* I might appeal to you, supposing you had no Bias's, Whether you can in Conscience persist in the Opinion that our Saviour is but a *Creature,* so contrary to the *Original* Christian Religion? Nay, I will add, so contrary to all the Predictions of the *Prophets,* the Interpretation of many Texts by the *Learned Jews* themselves, and the Expectation of the *Jewish Nation* of what their *Messiah* was to be, *viz.* the *Word* of *God,* the *Son of God, God equal* with the *Father.* And for this I have the Authority of your great *Eusebius;* which I have already cited, (whom you say none of the Learned will any more pretend that he was an *Athanasian*; and therefore he can't be charg'd by you with Partiality to our Doctrine: He says, that the *Hebrew* Oracles stile him the *Word* of *God, God of God,* as we Christians are taught to speak of him; and for Proof quotes some Passages out of *Moses* and *David,* and that the *Jews* applied to him even the *incommunicable Name* Jehovah: And I hope by further Evidence and full Proofs to make good the following Propositions, which comprehend what I have to say upon this Subject.

1. That many Passages in the Old Testament, which were spoken as of *God* were interpreted by the Learned *Jews* themselves of the *Word* of *God* in the *highest* Sense; notwithstanding what you say, *p.* 25. (without producing any Evidence for it,) '*that the ancient Christians never look'd upon them as true of the Son himself, but of the Father only.*

2. That the *Predictions* of the *Messiah* make him to be *Eternal God.*

3. That the *Jews* had *this* Notion of their *Messiah.*

4. That the Scripture of the *New Testament* expressly declare him to be so.

Which

Which when I have done, I hope I ſhall free my ſelf
n your Suſpicion which you inſinuate, that I have a
ſs in this Queſtion, meaning, I preſume the Prejudice
Education; for which, indeed, I daily bleſs the good
vidence of God, and hope by his Grace ſhall never
off that *firſt* Faith, but rather be ſtrengthen'd in it
that *Holy Spirit*, which hath furniſh'd to me in the
ptures, and enabled me in ſome Meaſure to give, ma-
Reaſons for it.

ho' I may ſay, as in Controverſies at Law, he that
ſue me for my Poſſeſſion, muſt firſt make out his own
e, before I need produce any Evidence for mine; ſo
we are in Poſſeſſion of this Doctrine for which I con-
, and this Poſſeſſion has been for 1700 Years, there-
till you have made appear the Truth of yours, by
r Proofs than you have hitherto produced, which yet
ſay are the *beſt* you have, there can be no great Occa-
; much leſs have you any Right to demand of me to
irm, by any Teſtimonies, our Confeſſion of that
h, on which Chriſt has *founded his Church, againſt which
ates of Hell ſhall not prevail.*

ut before I proceed, I deſire to ſay ſomething to the
im you make to the *Septuagint* Verſion, P. 24.
n whence, you ſay, Chriſt and his Apo-
always quoted the Old Teſtament.

hat their Quotations were generally from the *Septua-*
Tranſlation, I do not deny; much leſs will I deny
Authority of that Tranſlation, eſpecially of thoſe Pla-
eferr'd to in thoſe Quotations: But that their Quota-
s were *always* out of that Tranſlation, I believe, when
think again, you will not ſo peremptorily aſſert, be-
ſe there are Inſtances to the *contrary*.

nd you cannot deny, but that 'tis only a *Tranſlation*,
therefore cannot be more authentick than the *Original*
rew; nay, as the Author of the Prologue to *Eccleſiaſti-*
ſays, '*it muſt come ſhort of ſome Words; for the ſame things*
ter'd *in* Hebrew, *and tranſlated into another Language,*
ve *not the ſame Force in them; and not only theſe things, but*
e *Law and the Prophets* (*or Prophecies*) *have no ſmall Diffe-*
nce when they are ſpoken in their own Language. And I will
, that there is *one* very material Word in *Hebrew*, which
not be expreſs'd by any Word in any other Language;

and as there are *Idioms* in every Language, so the Translation must be understood in that Sense, in which the Original is taken; and tho' our *Saviour* quoted the *Greek* Version, yet he did not speak in the *Greek* Tongue, and the *Jews* took what he said, in the Sense in which they understood their own Text, as will be manifest by and by: And the Apostles, who had the Gift of Tongues, delivered their Doctrines, which they receiv'd from him, in plain Words, such as their Hearers understood, and as fully as the Mysteries of our Salvation could be express'd; and there may be very good Reason, why our Saviour and they chuse to refer to the *Septuagint*, to wit, because the *Greek* was then the most *common* Language, and which even the *Jews* themselves by their Dispersion had learnt, and many of them had obtain'd the Name of *Greeks* or *Hellenists*, and us'd the *Septuagint* Translation; and since the *Gentile* World, as well as the *Jews*, were to be converted to the *Faith* in *Christ*, it was proper to refer them to the Writings of *Moses* and the *Prophets which testify'd of him*, in the Language which they understood. But surely this was not setting aside the *Hebrew* Bible; for if the Scriptures were *given by Inspiration of God*, and *holy Men of God spake as they were mov'd by the Holy Ghost*; then surely those who originally writ in *Hebrew*, were at least as much inspir'd as the LXXII Translators of their Writings; nay, if the LXXII had been enabled by the Holy Spirit to translate exactly and literally, yet if what was so translated was not written by *Inspiration*, the Transl tion, tho' made by *Inspiration*, could not make it to be of *Divine Authority*.

John v. 39.

2 Tim. iii. 16.

I do not say this, that I pretend to the least Knowledge of the *Hebrew* Tongue; but I have learnt some things from Authors who did, which I may have had, and may have Occasion to mention in what follows.

And so I proceed to my Propositions.

First, That many Passages in the Old Testament, which were spoken as of God, were interpreted by the Learned *Jews* of the Word of God in the highest Sense.

The

The Lord *said.*		*The* Word *of the Lord said.*
	Arab. *Verſion.*	
Whom the Lord *knew Face to Face.*	*Deus* allocutus eſt eum ſine medio.	*Who knew the* Word *of the Lord talking with him.*
	Arab. *Verſion.*	
Moſes went up unto God.	Ad *Angelum* Dei. *And this is ſo interpreted by St.* Stephen, Acts 7. 38.	*Moſes went up into the Preſence of the* Word *of God.*
I will eſtabliſh my Covenant between Me *and Thee.*		*I will eſtabliſh my Covenant between my* Word *and Thee.*
	Chald. Paraph.	
If God *will be with me, then ſhall the* Lord *be my God.*		*If the* Word *of the Lord be with me, then the* Word *of the Lord ſhall be my God.*
	Chald. Paraph.	
I am He, *and there is no* God *beſides* Me, *I kill*, &c.	Servus meus *Chriſtus* quem elegi.	*The* Word *of the Lord ſaid, I am* He, *who* was, *and* is, *and* is to come, *and there is no other* God *beſides me. I kill*, &c.

many more, which you will find in Dr. *Hammond's* ıment on the New Teſtament, and in Biſhop *Patrick* Biſhop *Kidder.*

ind in *Ezek.* i. 24. *As the Voice of the* Almighty: This is ted in the common Impreſſions of the *Septuagint* Bible, ought to be inſerted; for in the *Polyglot* Bible, I find the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee* Paraphraſe, *Syriac* and *Arabick*, *Vo-* Saddai, *velut vocem omnipotentis, vocem* Domini *quaſi vocem* Dei

Dei potentissimi sufficientissimi. Theodoret: ὡς φωνὴ θεοῦ παρεμβολῆς; and in some Copies, ὡς φωνὴ θεοῦ παρεμβολῆς; which according to the *Septuagint* is, φωνὴν τοῦ λόγου: So that what in the above-mention'd Places was in the Original, *God*, and so rendred by the LXXII, but rendred as above, *the Word* of God; here in this Passage in Ezek. which is in all the Languages rendred *God Almighty*, is according to the LXXII. the Voice of the λόγος, the *Word* of God.

I presume it will no be deny'd, that by the *Angel* of the *Covenant*, and the *Angel* of *his Presence*, the *Messiah* was understood by the *Jews*, and now also by all Christians: Let us see then what is said of this *Angel*.

Exod. iii. 2. Κύριος καὶ ἄγγελος θεοῦ, 'The Angel of the Lord *appeared unto* Moses *in a Flame of Fire out of the Bush*: And in the 4th Verse, he is stil'd, *God* (the *Lord*; and in the 6th Verse he say, *I am the* God of thy Father, *the* God *of* Abraham.

Behold I send an (με my) Angel *before thee*— *Obey his Voice, for he will not pardon your Transgressions; for* my Name *is in him*, that is, *he is* God: For *my Name* implies and signifies *Essence*, as *Deut.* xii. 58. *That thou mayst fear this glorious and fearful* Name, the Lord thy God: And so *Psal.* xx. 1. The Name *of the God of Jacob defend thee*, that is, *God* defend thee; for the *Name of God* was not like an Amulet or Charm, as some superstitious *Jews* used their Phylacteries, to keep them from Hurt: And so expressly, *Exod.* iii. 13. *What is his Name?* v. 14. *I am that I am*: And so our Saviour says. *John* xiv. 11. *I am in the* Father, *and the* Father *in me*; and *who can forgive Sins but* God, *Mark* ii. 7. Exo. xxiii. 20, 21.

Bp. Kidder. And *Maimonides* explains this Text to be meant of the *Prophet*, Deut. xviii. 15. that was to be rais'd like unto *Moses*; and *Malachi* calls him the *Messenger of the Covenant*, Chap. iii. 1. and St. *Paul* says, 1 *Cor.* x. 9. and *Heb.* iii. 9. it was *Christ*, *who was tempted in the Wilderness*.

Gen. xviii. 2. Of the Angels which appeared to *Abraham*, one was the *Angel* of the *Covenant*, and he is all along stil'd *the Lord*; and in the 1st Verse the LXXII. render *the Lord*, ὁ θεὸς, God.

My

My Presence shall go with thee, (says God to *Moses*, in Answer to him, who *v.* 12. he said, *Thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me*) and this is rendred by the LXX II. *I my self* (God) *will go before thee.*

Exodus xxxiii. 14.

Αὐτὸς προπορεύσομαί σοι.

The Angel of his Presence saved them: This he LXXII render very elegantly, not *a Messenger*, nor *an Angel*, but *he* (*God*) himself aved them.

Isa. lxiii. 9.

Οὐ πρεσβυς οὐδὲ ἄγγελος· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔσωσεν αὐτούς.

How is it possible to interpret *this* especially, (or indeed any of the foregoing Texts) s of a Person representing and personating he Father, (as you say *p.* 25.) in spight of even the negave Words, *not* a *Messenger*, *not* an *Angel*, but *he himself.*

I shall mention but one more, and that is *Gen.* xxii. The ommand to *Abraham* to sacrifice *Isaac* was from *God*, v. 1. nd v. 11. *The Angel of the Lord call'd to him out of Heaven, and,* 12. *said, Lay not thy Hand upon the Lad; for now I know at thou fearest God, seeing that thou hast not with-held thy Son om Me:* This must be the *Angel* of the *Covenant*; for the ot with-holding his Son from *Me*, must be from *him* who, 1. gave him the Command, and whom by so doing he new'd that he fear'd, *viz. God*; and *v.* 14. *The* Angel *of the ord call'd to Abraham a second time, and said, By* My self *have* sworn, *&c.* And the Apostle, *Heb.* vi. 13. gives the Reaon of it, *viz.* because he could swear by *no greater* than himlf; and therefore *he*, this *Angel* of the *Covenant*, must be ual with the *Supreme God*: And so *Abraham*, v. 14. calls e Name of that Place by the Name of the Supreme *God*, hovah-jireh.

Secondly, The *Predictions* of the *Messiah* make him to be *Enal* God.

I think we are agreed, that there is *no God* besides the rd, and that he will not give his *Glory unto* other; for *before me*, says God, *was no God* m'd, *neither shall be after me; I, even I am the* rd, *and besides me there is no Saviour*: If then an shew, that the *incommunicable Name* of God is given the *Messiah*, that he is stil'd the *Lord*, and *God*, and that e *essential Attributes* of *God* are *predicated* of him, I shall fficiently make good my Proposition.

Isa. xlv. 5. xlii. 8. xliii. 10, 11.

Some

Some of the Texts which I have mention'd under my First Head, are also Proofs of this Second; and having had Occasion to mention others in this Letter, and several having been cited by Mr. *Seaton*, I shall here take notice but of some few more.

Gen. i. 26. God said, *Let us make Man*, &c. *Justin Matyr* urges this to *Tripho* to the same Purpose for which I now cite it, and treats the *Jews* Answers to it very contemptuously, as I observ'd before; and Bishop *Patrick* quotes *Epiphanius* for saying, "that this was understood by all the ancient Christians to denote a *Plurality* of *Persons* in the *Deity*; and that the *Jews*, who would evade it, do it in a most ridiculous manner, and therefore no Christian should imitate them; nor should you contradict your *Eusebius*, and your own Quotation, *p*, 35. out of *Irenæus*: The *first* says in his *Ecclesiastical Hist.* p. 6. that the Words in this Text of *Genesis*, were spoken to *Christ*; and the *last* says they were spoken to the *Son* and *Holy Spirit*. And this Construction of this Text is very well supported by St. *John* i. 3. *All things were made by him, and without him* (χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, *separately from him*) *was not any thing made*; therefore *not* as the *Instrument* which the Father us'd in creating all things, but as *united* with him in that act of *Omnipotence*; and therefore he was *God equally* with the *Father*, who wanted not the Help of a *Creature* to exert his Power, or to ease him, as of a Burden, in exercising it; and as it is said, *Rev.* iv. 11. of Almighty God, *Thou hast created all things*, and for thy Pleasure *they are and were created*; so it is said also of the Son, *Col.* i. 16. *All things were created by him and* for *him*.

Isa. xl. 9. *Say unto the Cities of* Judah, *Behold your* God: The whole Context shews, that this was spoken of the *Messiah*; as is also

Isa. liv. 1. *Thy* Maker *is thy Husband, the* Lord of Hosts *is his Name*; *and thy Messenger the* Holy One *of* Israel, *the* God *of the* whole Earth *shall he be called*.

Exod. iv. 3. *I appeared to Abraham — by the Name of* God Almighty; *but by my Name* Jehovah *was I not known to him*.

It is to be observ'd, that *Jehovah* is here, and in other Places of Scripture, rendred by the LXXII, κύριος the *Lord*; so that where κύριος, the *Lord*, is apply'd in the Old Testament

Testament to the *Messiah*, it ought to be taken in the high
ft Sense, or else the LXXII should have found some o-
her Way of expressing *Jehovah*, since there is no one
Word in any Language that comes up to the full Signifi-
ation of it; for it denotes the *Essence* of God, *viz.* that *is*,
was, and *is to come*; and is so peculiar to the
reat God, as in *Psal.* lxxxiii 18. *whose Name*
one is Jehovah that the *Jews* out of a su-
perstitious Reverence think it unlawful to
pronounce it.

In the Septuagint, κύριος

But this holy *Name* is apply'd to the *Messiah*, and there-
fore he must be *God*.

This is his Name by which he shall be called, The Lord, *or* Jehovah, *our* Righteousness: In the *Septuagint* 'tis, *Sedec* among the Prophets. This cannot be properly a Name, for it is not given to the *Messiah* in the Old or New Testament; so it must be understood according to the Signification of the Word, as *Immanuel*, in St. *Matt.* i. and *Isa.* vii. 14. was not literally the Name of our Saviour, but denote what he was, *God with us*; and in like manner, *Jehovah*, to avoid pronouncing the Word it self, was sometimes pronounced *Dao* and *Sedec*, signifying, in *Hebrew*, *Justice or Righteousness*; Ἰωσεδὲκ is as much as to say, *Jehovah our Righteousness*.

Jer. xxiii. 6.

Τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὃ καλέσει αὐτὸν κύριος Ἰωσεδὲκ ὁ τοῖς προφήταις.

And so he is again stil'd, *The Lord* (and in the Margin, *Jehovah*) *our Righteousness*. This left out of the *Septuagint*, as is all in that Chapter from the 13th Verse exclusive.

Jer. xiii. 16.

In these Chapters he is also call'd, *The Righteous Branch*, *Branch of Righteousness*; which in the *Septuagint* is ἀνατολὴ, also in *Luke* i. 78. and rendred, *The Day-spring*; suitable whereunto they also translate, *Isa.* iv. 2. (which in the Bibles is, *The Branch of the Lord shall be beautiful and glorious*) ἀνατελεῖ, *shall shine*: And what this *Branch*, or *Day-spring* was, the LXXII tell us, *viz. God*; for the Words in their Translation are, ἀνατελεῖ ὁ θεὸς, God *shall shine*. Thirdly, The *Jews* had this Notion of their Messiah, that he was to be the *Son of God*, and, as such, *equal* with God.

Now

Now if the Prophecies amount to this, (as they do) then I might conclude, that they who believ'd their Prophets, must have had this Notion: But it will appear very plainly Fact; for

When the High Priest had solemnly adjur'd our Saviour, *Matt.* xxvi. 63. *Tell us whether thou be the* Christ *the* Son of God? This very Question implies, that they expected the *Son of God* to be their *Christ*, or *Messiah*; but further, he answer'd, *Thou hast said*, or St. *Mark* relates it, c. xiv. 61. *I am*; *hereafter ye shall see* the Son of Man *sitting on the Right Hand of Power*, &c. (that is,) *judging the World*, as he says, *Matt.* lxi. 21. and Ch. xxiv. 30, 31. which was understood by the *Jews* to be the Office of the *Son of God*, as is plain by *Luke* xxii. 69, 70. for upon his saying, *Hereafter shall the Son of Man sit on the Right Hand of the Power of God*: *Then said all, Art thou then the* Son of *God*? Upon this Answer of our Saviour, the High Priest cries out, *He hath spoken Blasphemy*; which could not be, unless what he had said were an Assertion of his being God; and the *Jews* told *Pilate*, *John* xix. 17. *We have a Law, and by that Law he ought to die, because he made himself the* Son of God, *i. e.* God, or else they had no such Law.

The abovesaid Question of the High Priest shews, as I have said, the Opinion they had of their *Messiah*; which is yet plainer, as it is related by St. *Luke*, Ch. xxii. 67. where the Question is put singly, *Art thou the* Christ? And upon our Saviour's Answer, they make the Inference by their Second Question, *Art thou then the* Son of God?

And that they understood that the *Son* of God was God *equal* to God, is plain by *John* v. 18. *The Jews sought to kill him, because he said*, God *was his* Father, *making himself equal with God*. And so again, *John* x. 30, 33. he calling God *his Father*, they would have stoned him, *because thou being a Man makest thy self* God.

So *John* i. 45. When *Philip* had told *Nathanael*, that he had found him of whom *Moses* and the Prophets had wrote, and *Nathanael* being convinced of it, cries out, *Thou art the* Son of God.

And so said *Martha*, *John* xi. 27. 'Thou art *Christ* the 'Son of *God*, which should come into the World.

And so said St. *Peter*, Matt. xvi. 16. and John vi. 69. 'Thou art *Christ* the *Son* of the *Living God*. Upon which our

ur Saviour commands them, at the 20th ver. to tell no Man that he was Jesus the *Christ*, or *Messiah*; which shews hat the *Son of God* and *Messiah*, were Characters in the Opinion of the *Jews*, from the highest to the lowest) denoing the same Person under different Respects, which our aviour thus confirms; and further, he tells *Peter*, 1st that ' *was his Father, which is in Heaven, who had reveal'd this to him*; and 2dly, That ' upon *this Rock*,) *viz.* this Confession of Faith) *he would build his Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* And therefore let them, who eny this Faith, take care that they are not undetermiing this *Rock*, this *Church* of *God*, and *Christianity* it self, *ainst which all the Powers of Darkness shall not prevail*, lest they found to *fight against God.* And further, as our Saviour ys, *John* viii. 24. *If ye believe not that* I *am* he, (*or* I am) *ye all die in your Sins:* A dreadful Threatning, and should be nsidered by every Man.

The very Objections which the *Jews* made to our Savir, imply this their Opinion of the Messiah: For, say ey, *John* vii. 27. *When* Christ *cometh, no Man knoweth hence he is*; that is, in the Words of *Isa.* liii. 8. *Who can clare his Generation?* Which is spoke of the *Messiah.* And , *Acts* viii. 33. *Philip* expounds it to the *Eunuch*: And that oth *Isaiah* and the *Jews* meant his Generation, as he was e *Son of God*, is plain, because as the *Messiah* was the *Son* of *lan*, they did know that he was to be the *Son of David*, r. 42. of this Chapter, and *Matt.* xxii. 42. nd thus *Eusebius* understands and applies is Text to his Generation, which *no Words* n expres. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 2. p. 5.

Again, *John* xii. 34. *We have heard out of our Law, that* hrist *abideth for* ever; alluding to *Psal.* cx. 4. *Thou art a* riest *for* ever *after the Order of* Melchisedec; which, by the ay, shews their Construction of this Text; for it was obcted by the *Jews* to our Saviour for saying, that the *n of Man* must be lift up: Tho' you say, P. 25. hat tho' ' *Melchisedec is said to have neither Beginning of Days, nor End of Life, when he is represented as a Type of Christ's earliest Origen and latest Duration; yet this is certainly without the least Pretence of a proper Eternity.* Surely his Text shews at least his *Eternal* Duration, as the aforeention'd Text, *John* vii. 27. and *having no Beginning of*

Days, shews his *Eternal Generation* and *Existence*; and if having no *Beginning of Days* does not mean this, then having *no End of Life* does not signify his *Everlasting Duration*: And as by your Expression, *Earliest Origen*, you mean that our Saviour had a *Beginning*; so that of his *latest Duration* seems to imply, that he is to have an *End*, tho' you dare not in Terms say so. But what could the Apostle mean by adding to that Text, *But made like to the* Son of God, saving only that as the *Son of God* had neither *Beginning* nor *End*, which is properly being *Eternal*? So *Melchisedec*, that he might be a Type of him, is represented as *one*, of whose *Descent* or *Pedegree*, which was his *Beginning*, and of whose *Death* or *End*, no Account was given in Scripture, or could be given.

Heb. vii.

ἀγένεαλόγητος.

It is no Objection to what I have said upon this Head, That the *Jews* expected their *Messiah* should establish a Temporal Kingdom in this World: For the greater he was, the more capable he was of doing it; and they (who had at first been under a Theocracy, which, by *their asking a King*, they rejected, and which was the Foundation of their Sin in asking one) hoped to be again restored to that happy State under the irresistible Power of the *Word of God*, who was to *subdue all Nations under his Feet, and to have the Heathen for his Inheritance, and the utmost Parts of the Earth for his Possession*. And even some Christians, the *Millenarians*, by misinterpreting some Texts of Scripture, expected our Saviour to reign with his Saints 1000 Years upon Earth: and the very Apostles themselves, who had fully acknowledg'd his Divinity, had yet Thoughts and Hopes of an *Earthly Kingdom* even just before his *Ascension*, *Wilt thou at this Time restore again the Kingdom of Israel.*

Psal. xlvii. 3. —ii. 8.

Acts i. 6.

Fourthly, The Scriptures of the New Testament expressly declare our Saviour to be *God* in the *highest* Sense.

The Texts which I have already cited in this Letter do abundantly shew this Truth; and this is so large a Field, that I will not pretend to mention them all; but some I will add, to assert and make good my Proposition.

Matt. i. 23. An Angel from Heaven tells *Joseph*, 'that 'his Name shall be call'd *Immanuel*, which being interpre-

'ted,

ed, is God with us as had been foretold by *Isaiah*, Chap. 14.

Luke ii. 11, *&c.* ' A Multitude of Angels declare him to he Shepherds to be *Christ the Lord.*

Twice was this confirm'd by a Voice from God himself, ' *This is my beloved Son, Matt.* iii. 16, 17. and Ch. xvii. in which last there is added a Command to the Three ostles, *Hear ye him.*

Let us therefore hear what he says of nself, for they are the Words of no less n Almighty God, and what those Apo- s instructed from Heaven and taught of d, do say of him. Deut. xviii. 18. John xii. 49. 50.

John iv. 26. He tells the Woman of *Samaria*, that *he is* Messiah.

John ix. 35. And to the blind Man, that he is the *Son of l.*

John viii. 12. And to the *Jews*, that he is the *Light of the rld*, as is said of God, 1 *John* i. 5.

John vi. 38. That he *came down* from *Heaven.*

John vi. 33. That he *giveth Life to the World.*

John xvi. 28. That he *came forth from the Father*, &c.

And how the Disciples understood this, is plain by ir Answer, *viz.*

John xvi. 29. Lo now thou speakest plainly, now we e sure that *thou knowest all things*: *And*

John xvi. 30. *We believe that thou camest forth from God.*

I have already mention'd his Assertions of his *own Divi-* y before the High Priest in such Terms, as would be *sphemy* to any but the *Great God.* And

John viii. 24. *If ye believe not that I am, ye shall dye in your vs.*

——28. *When you have lift up the* Son *of* Man, *ye shall know at* I am.

——58. (In express assertory Terms) *Before Abraham* was, *am.*

This is the peculiar Name by which God declar'd mself to *Moses*, *Exod.* iii. 14. and is repeated by God, *eut.* xxxii. 39. And these Expressions of our Saviour are he very same that Almighty God uses, *Isa.* xliii. 10. that *may know and believe me, and understand that I am*: *Before e there was no God form'd, neither shall there be after me.*

John

Τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν αἶρει.

Lift up our Soul, raise our Expectations that thou art really the Messiah *we look for.*

John x. 24. When the *Jews* complaining, said, *How long doest thou make us to doubt*, (or, as in the Margin of our Bibles, *hold us in Suspence?*) if *Thou be Christ, tell us* plainly; and he does, *v.* 30. *I and my Father are one*, ἕν; not one *Person*, but one in *Essence*. And so the *Jews* understood him; imputing therefore to him *Blasphemy*, and *taking up Stones to stone him for it.*

Nevertheless I may, perhaps, be told Two Things. That this is interpreted *One* in *Power*; and that when the *Jews* understood by it, *v.* 33. that he made himself *God*; our *Saviour*, v. 34, &c. makes, as it were an Excuse for that Expression, saying, *It is not written, I have said ye are* Gods. &c.

Now, if it be to be understood *One* in *Power*, (tho' the *Jews* took it otherwise, it will necessarily follow, that he is *One* in *Essence* too. For what are the Works, which are there mention'd, and which he did in his *Father*'s Name, and which testify'd of him, *v.* 25. no less than *v.* 28. *I give unto them Eternal Life*; which surely *God* only can do; tho' though our *Saviour* is appointed to judge the World, yet as a *Judge*, he can't be said to *give*: *Eternal Life is the Gift of* God, *Rom.* vi. 23.

Besides, if he be *One* in *Power*, he must be *Omnipotent*, which of all the divine essential Attributes, does *most* denote *God*; and there can't be two *Omnipotents* distinct in Essence, any more than Two *Gods*.

And as to the Excuse, it may be said to be an Answer *ad hominem*, with a just Reproof of them; but he did not rest there, and leave them to think he meant no more, for *v.* 37, 38. he adds, *If I do not the Works of my* Father *believe me not; but if I do, tho' ye believe not* me, *believe the* Works, *that ye may know and believe that the* Father *is in* me, *and* I *in* Him: And that the *Jews* did, certainly then, understand that he made himself *God*, the following Verse shews, *for they again sought to take him*, as at first they attempted, *to stone him.*

And *c.* xxii. 45. *He that seeth* me, *seeth* him *that sent me*; and *c.* xiv. 7. *If ye had known* me, *ye should have known* my Father *also, and from henceforth ye have* known *and* seen *him*: And repeats it again to *Philip*, reproaching him for asking him to shew them the *Father*, saying, *Have I been so long with*

you

, and yet hast thou not known me? *He that hath seen* me *h seen the* Father, *and how sayest thou then*, Shew us *the* Fa-er?

Surely, therefore, I may say, as our Saviour concludes Account he sends of himself to *John Baptist*, Matt. xi. *Blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me*; for as the ostle says, 2 *Cor.* iv. *v.* 3, 4. *If our Gospel be hid, it is hid to* in, or) *them that are lost*, which Expression, *in*, seems to mate that it must be *wilful* Ignorance; so glorious (as adds) is the Light of it.

might add what he did in his *own Name* as a further dence of his *Divinity*, viz.

rgiving of Sins; *giving the Holy Ghost*; working such *Mi-s* as never were wrought before, *viz.* in his *own Name*, giving to others Power to *do the like and greater* in *his e*; *rising* or *raising himself from the dead*; *receiving divine hip*, such as is due to *God alone*: All which are asserted nd by him, as is evident by plain Texts of Scripture, ch I do not quote, because I believe they are known ou, and cannot be deny'd.

o that for the Divinity of our Saviour, we have had Testimony of *God the Father*, *who will not give his Glory nother*, and is *the God of Truth*, *and cannot lye*; and of *Christ* himself *the Son of God*, *a Teacher of Righteousness*, would not be even a *good Man* if he taught a *false* and *bemous* Doctrine. I shall now proceed to give you the imony of the *Holy Ghost*, the *Spirit of Truth*, by *visible* ons, and by *speaking* in the Apostles, who have left us Doctrine upon Record in their Writings: And then ay conclude, as St. *John* says, 1 *John* v. 10. *He that eth not God, hath made him a* Liar, *because he believeth not Record that* God *gave of his Son.*

hn i. 32, &c. *John Baptist saw the Spirit of God descend-pon him like a* Dove, *and*, He, *who sent him to baptize*, *Upon whom thou shalt see the* Spirit *descending and remain-n him*, the same *is* he *which baptizeth with the* Holy ost; *and he bare Record that* This *is the* Son *of* God.

nd as *no Man can say that* Jesus Christ e Lord *but by the* Holy Ghost, and *that* be *Apostles were filled with the* Holy Ghost, had the Advantage of *attending* him from

1 Cor. xii. 3.
Acts 2. 4.
Acts i. 21.
2 Pet. i. 16.

Eye-

John xx. 21. xxi. 25. Luke xxiv. 27. Luk. iv. 10. Acts ix.----- 1 Tim. i. 1. Gal. i. 1, 12. the *beginning* of his Miniſtry, and of being *Eye-witneſſes* of his *Majeſty*, and to have ſeen and *heard* many Things which are not recorded in the Goſpels, and to have had the Scriptures *expounded* to them by *Chriſt* himſelf *after* his *Reſurrection*, and that it was *given to them to know the Myſteries of the Kingdom of Heaven*; and that St. *Paul*, in particular, was in a miraculous Manner taught by Chriſt from Heaven, *and was an Apoſtle not* of Men, *neither* by Man, *but by* Jeſus Chriſt, *and* God *the* Father. Surely the Teſtimony of ſuch Witneſſes is much more valuable than thoſe which you have produced, tho' you had never ſo faithfully and fairly repreſented what your Authors ſay. For thoſe are the Teſtimonies of the *Holy Ghoſt*, which ſpake in them; and *what they writ*, St. *John* c. xx. 31. ſays, was for *this Purpoſe*, *that ye may believe that* Jeſus *is* the Chriſt, *the* Son *of* God.

Col. i. 19. *It pleas'd the* Father *that in* him *ſhould* all Fulneſs *dwell* (or *all* Fulneſs *was pleas'd to dwell in* him) *even* all *the* Fulneſs *of the* Godhead, *Col.* ii. 9. 1 Joh. iv. 15. 1 Cor. vi. 19. John iii. 34. Godw. Antiq. p. 68. our Saviour had ſaid, *John* 14. 10. *The* Father *that dwelleth in* me; not by a *Communication* of the *Holy Spirit*, as *God* may be ſaid to have dwelt in the *Prophets* and *Apoſtles*, and indeed in every good *Man*, whoſe Bodies are the Temples of *God*; for *God gave not the Spirit by Meaſure to him*; nor much leſs in *Clouds* and *Ceremonies*, as the Glory of God between the *Cherubims* term'd, *Shechina*, the Habitation or Dwelling of God, but *eſſentially*. But having mention'd and ſaid ſomething of this Text before, when I conſider'd your Quotation of the 15th Verſe of this Chapter, this may ſuffice.

John i. 14. *We beheld the Glory, as of the* only-begotten *of the* Father: Which Phraſe is often repeated in Scripture, and muſt ſignify more than that *Chriſt* was, as truly *others* are the *Sons* of *God*, as being *created* by him; tho' you make *created* and *begotten* equivalent Expreſſions; and if they were, he could not be call'd, the *only* begotten: Which Word *Only* ſufficienlty diſtinguiſhes and denotes him emphatically

natically *the Son*, as is said by St. *Paul*, Hebr. 1. 2. God th spoken to us, ἐν υἱῷ, *By the Son*; The *Son* by *eternal* neration and equal to the Father; as I have shewn al-dy by the Scriptures, and by several Quotations out of Authors you rely upon.

Pet. iii. 12. *Looking for the coming of the Day of God.* at this was spoken of the Day of Judgment; and t the Day of Judgment is in Scripture call'd *the Day of Lord Jesus*, is manifest both by the other Parts of this apter, and several other Places: And here St. *Peter* ex-sly stiles him *God*; and so does St. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. *manifested in the Flesh*; and *Tit.* ii. 10. *God our Saviour*; v. 13. *the great God and our Saviour*: 1 John v. 10. *We w that the Son of* God *is come, and hath given us an Un-anding, that we may know him that is true; and we are im that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ.* This (ἔτος, *Person*) *is the* true God.

have in a former Part of this Letter mention'd, *Hebr.* There is another Text, *Phil.* ii. 6. of the like Im-; but more plain and expres, as I have before also rv'd: *Christ Jesus, who being in the* Form od thought it not Robbery (*a taking to* Μορφῇ. lf *what did not belong to him*, or he had *no* to) *to be* equal *with* God, *i. e.* God: Now being in *Form of God* cannot, as I said before of the *Image* of his n, be understood as if he were only a *Representation* of ; and that he was not *really* and *truly* God, as is plain he following Words; He took upon the *Form* of a Servant, and *was made in* Μορφὴν *likeness of Man, and being found in* Fashion ὁμοιώματι *Man.* —— For it may as well be argued σχήματι. these latter Words (as some Hereticks deny'd his *Humanity*) that he was only in *Appearance*, not *really* a *Man*, as that from the *Image* or *Form* of *God*, as not *truly* God and equal with God.

om. i. 20. St. *Paul* makes the Creation of the World e a full Evidence and Proof of the *Eternal Power* and *ad*; and that the *World was made by the Son of God*, not *terially*, but as *God* I have before observ'd, and will ery plain by comparing together, 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. *Rom.* 36. *Col.* i. 16. *John* i. 3.

And

And here I must take notice of your unfair Dealing, *p.* 6. where *Col.* ii. 9. is cited, *The Fulness of the Godhead*, you add, as if it were another Reading or Meaning of that Expression (or *Divine Power*;) and you refer to this Text, *Rom.* i. 20. as if *this* justify'd you for so doing: Tho' in this Text the Word *Godhead* is us'd as well as *Power*; to which the Epithet *Eternal* is added, which you changed to *Divine*; as imagining, tho' in vain, that it would better suit your Purpose.

Rom. ix. 5. *Whose are the Fathers, of whom concerning the Flesh Christ came, who is over all,* God *blessed for ever.* Amen. Thus it is rendred in our Bibles, and so by (a) *Novatian*, c. 13, & 30. but you translate it (in your Letter to the Bishop of *London*, p. 5.) *The God over all be blessed for ever, Amen.* But I ask, Why did you so render it; for neither the Context, nor the Apostle's Argument; nor the Greek (b) will warrant your so doing? For,

St. *Paul* in the 2d and 3d Verses having expres'd his great Concern, even to a Degree *of wishing himself accursed or separated from Christ, for his Brethren, his Kinsmen, according to the Flesh, lest,* as he says, *c.* iv. 14. *thro' their Infidelity the Promise to Abraham should be made of none Effect*: He proceeds in a very Rhetorical *Climax* to set forth the great Privileges and Advantages they had, as so many Arguments to them above others, to embrace the Faith of Christ; saying, '*Who are Israelites, to whom pertaineth the Adoption,* 'and the *Glory*, and the *Covenant*, and the *giving of the Law*, 'and the *Service* (or true Worship, λατρεια of God, and 'the *Promises*; *whose are the Fathers*, and *of whom, as concerning the Flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever*.' That is, tho' it was great Honour to them, that he deriv'd his human Nature from them, for he took on him the *Seed of Abraham*; yet as the Completion and Perfection of their Happiness and Dignity, He was *over all*, and no less than *God blessed for ever.* And this was the *strongest* and a necessary Argument to induce them to a Belief in him, because they expected their *Messiah* should be some

(a) Quorum Patres & ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia, Deus benedictus in sæcula.

(b) Ὧν οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς κατὰ σάρκα ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

ing more *than of the Stock of Abraham*, or *of the Lineage of vid.* And had the Apoſtle ſtopp'd at, *of whom concerning Fleſh Chriſt came*, the Argument had been no better than imelech's to perſuade the Men of *Sichem to ke him King; I am your Bone and your Fleſh*: Judg. ix. 2. t *when Chriſt came*, (as they ſaid *John*, vii.) *no Man knoweth whence he is*; and therefore the Apo- tells them, Tho' *according to the Fleſh he came of your h*, and *is Man*, yet he is alſo *truly Eternal God*; for with- this Character of him, which they expected their ſſiah to have, they might have been apt to have ſaid, hey did before they crucify'd him, Is not *this the Car- er's Son?* And then the Concluſion would e been, as our *Saviour* ſaid, that *the Pro- would not have been without Honour, but ng his own Kin, and his own Houſe.* Mark vi. 45.

This I take to be the plain and natural Conſtruction of Apoſtle's Diſcourſe; but you, to force your Interpre- on, firſt tranſpoſe the Words, and then conſtrue them as good Grammar will not bear; ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς ογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας this, in the Letter and Order the Words is, *being* over all *God bleſſed for ever*: ng muſt neceſſarily refer to and agree h what went before; *viz. Chriſt*; and ſo ullian applies it; and therefore you leave ὁ ὢν Being, and ſuppoſe ἐστω to be underſtood. Contra. Prax. c. 13.

o ſum up this Matter, 'tis very obſervable that the oſtle ſpeaks of our *Saviour* in the *ſame ms*, as the *Jews* uſe when they name *God*; they generally add *Bleſſed for ever*, and *the ed* (alone without the Addition of God) otes *Almighty God*; as is evident by *Mark* xiv. 61. *Dr.* Hamm. Comment. 175.

John 15. *God is Light*; and this is ſaid alſo of *Chriſt*, n i. 9. by the ſame Apoſtle; and our Saviour ſays f himſelf, *John* viii. 12. *I am the Light of the World.*

Tim. vi. 15. *God* is ſtil'd *Kings of Kings*; and ſo is ſt, Rev. xvii. 14. & xix. 20.

Acts xx. 28. Take heed to *feed the Church of* God, *ch he hath purchas'd with his own Blood.*

Hebr. xiii. 8. Jeſus Chriſt the *ſame Yeſterday, to Day, for ever*; which ſurely denotes his Eternity; for this

is equivalent to what is said *Rev.* i. 4. of the great God, *which is*, and *which was*, and *which is to come.*

But Mr. *Seaton* having cited many Places in Scripture, in which the Things spoken of God, and which cannot be applied but to the mighty *God*, are also predicated in the highest Sense of our *Saviour*; I shall say no more upon this Head, but only that our *Saviour* must therefore be *God*, or else we must charge even the Scriptures with Blasphemy.

I presume you will not deny, and therefore I need not quote Texts, that *Faith* in our *Lord Jesus* is made necessary to the Remission of Sins, and eternal Salvation; that all the Miracles, which were wrought by the Apostles, even the giving the Holy Ghost, were effected thro' Faith in *his* Name; and well therefore might he require, *John* xiv. 1. *Ye believe in God, believe also in me.* For surely these are such Instances of his *Godhead*, that without it no Creature could require, nor any Creature pay them to another.

To *Faith* in him I must add *Adoration* and *Worship*, which Men and Angels too are commanded to pay him.

It cannot be deny'd, but that *Prayers* directed *immediately* and *ultimately* to *him* are Acts of *Divine Worship*: St. *Stephen* did so, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*: And the Apostles not only *pray'd* to him, but did it in the Acts vii. 59. Form of *Blessing in his Name*, which in all Nations, in *all* Times has been done only in the Name of such as they esteem'd *Gods*: And 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14. *The Holy Ghost* also is added (which is the Form now us'd in our Liturgy) and with great Reason; for our Saviour has commanded them *to baptize* Matthew *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and* xxviii. 19. *of the Holy Ghost*: And this he requires them to teach all Nations. And in St. *Mark* xvi. 16. there is added to this Command, *He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned:* And Verse 20. they went forth and preach'd, *The Lord confirming the Word* (this Doctrine) *with Signs* or Miracles. Surely this is a full Evidence that all *Three* Persons are *God*; and therefore St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* i. *v.* 14. 15. thanks *God* that he baptiz'd *none* — lest any should say, that he *baptiz'd in his own Name*: For *Baptism* is a *Dedication* of us to *God.* But if this may, nay must, be

one to *Christ* and to the *Holy Ghost*, and yet the *One* be a *Creature*, and the *Other* the *Creature* of *that Creature*, ow not how you will excuse your self from the *Popish* rstition of addressing themselves to *Saints* and *Angels* mploring of them their Protection: Or even from, n *Idolatry*; for they had their tutelar Deities, which they did not esteem their *Supreme God:* For let the ire and Dignity of our *Saviour* be never so great and ly exalted, if he be less than *God*, we must say as the l did to St. *John*, Rev. xxii. 9. *See thou do it not, for thy Fellow-Servant — worship God*; for God himself has *He will not give his Glory to another.*

know not how you will avoid this Difficulty, but by ing your Proselytes not to baptize their Children; he Time comes (which in your Postscript to the Bi- of *London*, you say you hope for) that there shall be formation of our Doxology, for then the Form of ism may be alter'd too; but in the mean Time to *trian* you add the *Anabaptist*; and yet I believe most *em* are so good Christians, as not to receive *you* into Communion.

must not omit, 1 *John* v. 7. *There are Three that bear d in Heaven, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and Three are One.* I know you have a very short Answer his Text, that it was inserted by such as you now call *nasians*. But this is a Point I shall leave to be argued learned Men: 'tis enough for me that I find this Text y Bible; and that it was in this Epistle before the e of *Arius*; for St. *Cyprian* (who liv'd about the Mid- of the Third Century) in Syllables quotes it; and efore 'tis incumbent on the *Arians* to prove it was in- d; and it requires very plain and express Proofs to ive us of so long a Possession.

ut it is astonishing, that you should *p.* 29. with so Confidence peremptorily assert, that '*no one Person epted against the Word* Created *till* Athanasius; *nor any asserted that the Son was* uncreated *till he did it:*' For own Quotations convict you, at least the Authors you directed me to, have furnish'd me with many Instan- that confute you: And have you never seen Bishop 's incomparable Book? Do you not know that your rned Friend Dr. *Clark* rejects the Testimony of the Fa-

thers?

thers? And does not Dr. *Waterland*, in his admirable Tract, give the Reason for it, *viz.* "*Because he knows they are* §' *against him?*

P. 37. 'Tis no less astonishing that you should venture to assert, that 'for the *Coeternity* of 'the *Spirit*, or even his equal Antiquity with the *Son*, there 'is *not One proper* and *direct Testimony*, *Sacred or Primitive*, that 'you know of, *now extant in the Records of the Christian Church*, 'till long after the *Council of* Nice, *in the latter Days of* Atha-'nasius *himself*.' Experience has too much confirm'd the malicious Man's Rule, *fortiter, calumniare, aliquid hæret*: And there can be no Reason for such bold positive Assertions, but only the Hope that some unwary Men may be thereby induced to think there may be some little Truth in them: For Men may be deceiv'd into such Opinions, tho' no Arguments can be found sufficient to convince them.

For my Part, I think the Texts and Testimonies, which you have cited to prove the Holy Ghost *created, made, and not eternal*, (if the first were *justly* and *truly* interpreted, and the latter *fairly* represented) would be sufficient to confute you. But I shall shew,

First, That you have miserably mangled and misrepresented these Quotations; as you have done the Authorities relating to the *Son*: And that these very Authors, whom you have taught me to consult, do, in other Places, in most express Words assert the *Divinity of the Holy Ghost*, as fully as we profess to believe it:

And then prove the same by plain Texts of Scripture.

First, You cite *Tertullian adversus Prax.* from

P. 35. saying, 'I *suppose the Spirit is deriv'd from no-*'*ther Origin, than from the Father by the Son*:' *Tertullian's* Words are, *Quia Spiritum non aliunde puto quàm à Patre per Filium.*

Origin might have been omitted in your Translation, but that you thought it would seem to your Reader to imply a *Creation*.

The most that can fairly be inferr'd from this Passage, is, that in *Tertullian's* Opinion the *Procession* of the *Holy Ghost* was from the *Father*, *by* (διὰ) not *and* (καὶ) the Son, as the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church is, and has formerly been the Subject of a great Dispute: But nevertheless, that this was

not

t *Tertullian*'s Opinion, will appear by what follows, *p.* 77. *Tertius eſt Spiritus à Deo & Filio*: The Third is the *Spi-* *from God* (the Father) *and the Son.*

But to your Quotation, I further ſay:

Tertullian was anſwering an Objection, at Three Perſons in the Godhead de- oy'd the Monarchy of the Deity: 'No, ſays *Tertullian*, (1) *for the Monarchy is to be underſtood to be hen ſubverted when another* Dominion *of its* own *Condition and* proper *State, and therefore emulous, is ſuperinduced*—— *when another God is brought in, or there are* many *Gods*—— *But I, who deduce the* Son, non aliundè, *from no other* than the *Subſtance* of the *Father*, how can *I* be ſaid to *deſtroy* the *Monarchy*? And ſo it muſt be ſaid in the *Third Degree* be- cauſe I think the *Holy Spirit* is, *non aliundè*, from no other han *from* the Father *by* the Son; as he had ſaid a little efore, (2) How can God ſeem to ſuffer any *Diviſion* or *Diſperſion* in the *Son* and *Holy Ghoſt* who hold the *Second* and *Third* Rank Partakers (Conſorts) of the *Subſtance* of the *Father*; as he had ſaid, *p.* 844. (againſt thoſe who be- v'd *God* to be *One* no otherwiſe than as if the ſame *Hy- ſtaſis* or *Perſon* were *Father*, and *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt*) (3)

Adv. Prax. p. 845.

(1) Everſio monarchiæ illa eſt tibi intelligenda cùm alia ominatio ſuæ conditionis & proprii ſtatus & per hoc amu- ſuperinducitur; cùm alius Deus infertur adverſus Crea- rem, tunc malè, cùm plures ſecundum Valentinos & rodicos— Cæterùm qui Filium non aliundè deduco ſed e ſubſtantiâ Patris— Quomodo poſſum de fide deſtruere onarchiam——Hoc mihi & in Tertium gradum dictum t, quia Spiritum non aliundè puto quàm à patre per Fili- m.

(2) Quale eſt ut Deus diviſionem & diſperſionem pati ideatur in Filio & in Spiritu Sancto ſecumdum & tertiam ſortius locum tam conſortibus ſubſtantiæ Patris.

(3) Dum unicum Deum non aliàs putat credendum uàm ſi ipſum eundemq; & Patrem & Filium & Spiritum anctum dicat; quaſi non ſic quoq; unus ſit omnia, dum x uno omnia per ſubſtantiæ ſc. Unitatem; & nihilomi- ius cuſtodiatur οἰκονομίας ſacramentum quæ unitatem in Trinitatem diſponit, tres dirigeus Patrem & Filium & Spi- itum Sanctum, tres autem non ſtatu ſed gradu, nec ſub- tantiâ ſed forma, &c.

as

'as if *One* might not be *All* in this way also, so long as *All* 'are *One*, *viz.* by the *Unity* of *Substance*. And the Divine 'Oeconomy disposes this *Unity* into *Trinity*, *Father*, *Son*, 'and *Holy Ghost*; *Three*, not in (*statu*) *Condition*, but *Degree* '(or *Order*; not in *Substance*, but in *Form*, &c. Which, p. 853 he repeats, speaking of the *Father* and the *Son*, (*) not 'Two Gods, but as *Father* and *Son Two*; not by any *Separa-* 'tion of Substance, but by *Disposition*; for we assert the 'Son to be *undivided* and *inseparate* from the *Father*. And 'p. 847. (*) We say the *Son* proceeds by *Prolation* from 'the *Father*, but is not *separated* from him. The *Father*, 'Son, and *Holy Ghost* are *inseparate* from each other. And 'p. 849. *Ubiq*; *teneo* unam *substantiam in tribus coharentibus*.

P. 36. Your Quotation out of *Origen*'s Comment on St. *John*, p. 56. is most strangely represented; for upon the Text in St. *John*, that *all things were made by the* Word, he states *Three* Opinions; not that any of them were given as *his own*, but as in the Person of *others*, and the Conclusion, which may seem to be his Opinion; you have perverted by your Translation.

The first of these Opinions is, that, *whosoever says that* 'the Holy Spirit *is a Being* made, *and allows this Text in St.* 'John, *must of Necessity allow*, *that he was* made *by the* Word, 'and by Consequence (here you make a *N. B.*) *the* Word 'was *more ancient than* He.

Now all this is certainly true, if the *Holy Spirit* be a Being *made*; but this wants to be prov'd, nor is it *Origen*'s Assertion; and the Consequence, that, in that Case, the Word is *more* ancient than *He*, is also certain and obvious without your *N. B.* Which shews indeed your own Opinion, but not *Origen*'s, tho' perhaps you inserted it to induce the Reader to think so.

The Second Opinion is, 'That *whoever will not admit* 'the Holy Spirit *to be* made *by* Christ, *must by Consequence say* 'that *he is* Unbegotten, *if he judges what is said in* (*not* the,

(*) Dii non duo, sed quà Pater & Filius duo, non ex separatione substantiæ sed ex dispositione, individuum & inseperatum Filium à Patre pronunciamus.

(*) Prolatum dicimus Filium à Patre, sed non seperatum, inseperatos ab alterutro Patrem, Filium & Spiritum Sanctum Testor.

'as

as you render it generally, but) this *Gospel* (viz. *this Text in* St. John) *to be true*.

Here you stop, as it were, to give us our Choice of these wo Opinions; knowing that tho' we do assert that the oly Spirit is a *necessary Efflux* of the *Deity*, as *proceeding* from e *Unbegotten Father*, (as we say the *Son* is also by being *be*tten of the *Father*) yet we do acknowledge that *Unbegot*t is said particularly of the *Father*, and, in Consequence this our Doctrine, you imagine, that since we both all disallow this *second* Opinion, (unless you will change e Term, *Unbegotten* to *Unmade* as ἀγένητον also signifies) must agree with you in this *first*.

But you have omitted the *Third* Opinion, which is of one ho asserts, (1) '*That there is no proper, peculiar* Essence ἰδίαν οὐσίαν) of the *Holy Spirit different* from the *Father* and *Son*.

If by ἰδίαν οὐσίαν should be meant *no distinct Personality*, we all both gree in rejecting this Third Opi- Pamph. A-
on, and so does *Origen* too. pol. p. 760.
But if ἰδίαν οὐσίαν be taken, as I have ren-
ed it, (and it properly signifies) for *Substance* or *Essence*, en here the *Consubstantiality* of the *Holy Spirit* is asserted: hen the Text, *Matt.* xii 32. is cited, that *Blasphemy a*inst *the* Son *shall be forgiven, but against the* Holy Ghost *ll not be forgiven*; as it is also cited in *Pamphilus*'s Apology, 674. with this Expression of Admiration, (2) O 'how reat is the *Majesty* of the *Holy Spirit*.

Then immediately after this Text in St. *Matthew*, follows the last Part of your Quotation, which for the strange ranslation and perverting of it, I will set down in distinct olumns.

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(1) Ἔστι δέ τις καὶ τρίτος πρὸς τοὺς δύο——δογματίζων μηδὲ ἰδίαν τινὰ ἰδιαν ὑφεστάναι τὸ ἁγίον πνεῦμα ἕτερον παρὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν.

(2) Quis ergo non obstupescat quanta Majestas sit Spiritus Sancti.

In

In your Translation.	As in the GREEK.
We who are persuaded, that the Father, Son, *and* Holy Ghost *are* Three Substances, *and do believe there is nothing* unbegotten *but the* Father; *do admit this Notion as agreeable to Piety and Truth, that when all things are said to be* made by the Word, *the* Holy Spirit *is the* most honourable, *and* First *in Order of those Beings which the Father made by Christ.*	(1) *We therefore who are persuaded, that there are Three* Persons *or* Subsistences, Father, Son, *and* Holy Ghost, *and do believe that there is nothing* unbegotten *but the* Father, *or that is* different from *the* Father, *do admit as pious and true* (*all things being made by the* Word) *that the Holy Ghost is* more honourable *than all things, and,* in Order *or* Station, *than, all things made by the Father by* Christ.

Besides other Faults in your Translation, I must take notice that you turn τιμιώτερον into a Superlative, *most* honourable, in spight of our Grammar, and insert *First* in spight of your Author, in which it is not.

The Import of this Passage seems to be this: That there are *Three distinct Persons or Subsistances*, (not *Substances*) viz. *The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*; and tho' it be true, that there is nothing *unbegotten* but the *Father*, and that all things were made by *Him*; yet 'tis true too, that the *Holy Ghost*, who is One of those Three Persons, is *more honourable* than all Made or Created Beings, and is in *Rank* and *Station above* or *more honourable* than all things made *by* the *Father by* or *thro' Christ*.

But whatever doubt there may be of *Origen*'s Opinion or Expressions in this Passage, the Account which *Pamphilus* gives of him is full and clear, and sets forth *Origen*'s Sentiments of the Holy Spirit in Terms indisputable.

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(1) Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν γε βεβαίως ὑποδεδεγμένοι τυγχάνειν τὸν πατέρα τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀγέννητον μηδὲν ἕτερον τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι πιστεύοντες ὡς εὐσεβέστερον καὶ ἀληθὲς προσίεμεθα τὸ πάντων διὰ τοῦ λόγου γεγονέναι, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πάντων εἶναι τιμιώτερον καὶ τάξει πάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ χριστοῦ γεγονότων.

(1) P. 760

(1) P. 760. *Origen* says, 'he *could not find one Word in the Scriptures, by which the Holy Ghost could be said to be a Creature*; and yet, of Pamph. Apolog.

the Fathers, none were better, scarce so well, vers'd the Scriptures as *Origen*.

(2) P. 764. He says, 'That *Baptism was not compleat, but by the Authority of the Trinity, that is, by the naming of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and, particularly, that the Name of the Holy Ghost must be join'd with the Father and Son.*

(3) P. 765. He makes the *Omniscience* of the *Holy Spirit* a proof of his *Divinity*, saying, 'That *as the Father and the Son know the Beginnings and the Ends of all things, so also does the Holy Spirit, which it is impossible for a Creature to do.*

I have in a former Place taken notice of your Quotation, *p.* 35. of *Irenæus*, that the Text in *Genesis*, *Let us make*, &c. was spoke to the *Holy Ghost*, as well as to the *Son*; and you have also cited him for applying the 8th of the Proverbs to the *Holy Spirit*; and then, notwithstanding your notion of the *Creation* of the *Holy Ghost* by the *Son*, if the Son was created the Beginning of his Ways, and the *Holy Ghost* was also created the Beginning of his Ways, then there are *Two* Beginnings.

And tho' I have also quoted *Athenagoras* before, I must once more mention what he says, *viz.* 'The *Holy Ghost* is the *Efflux* of God flowing from and reflected back to him, as the Rays of the Sun. Who then would not wonder, that they should be call'd *Atheists*, who acknowledge *God* the *Father*, *God* the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost*, shewing both their *Power* in *Unity*, and *Distinction* in *Order*.

---

(1) Veruntamen usq; ad præsens nullum sermonem in Scripturis sanctis invenire potuimus, per quem Spiritus Sanctus Creatura esse diceretur.

(2) Salutare baptismum non nisi excellentissimæ Trinitatis authoritate; *i. e.* Patris & Filij & Spiritûs Sancti cognominatione compleatur, & innato Deo & unigenito eius Filio nomen quoq; Spiritûs Sancti copuletur.

(3) Sicut Pater novit initia omnium quæ sunt & fines sic & Filius sic & Spiritus Sanctus sciat id, quod impossibile est omni Creaturæ cognoscere.

And now surely I may venture to contradict you, and say, that there are some proper and direct Primitive Testimonies for the equal Antiquity of the *Holy Ghost* with the *Son*, nay, and for his *Coeternity*. For *Athenagoras* and *Irenæus* lived in the Second Century; *Tertullian*, *Origen* and *Pamphilus* in the Third, long before *Arius* broach'd his Heresy, or *Athanasius* had Occasion to assert our *Faith* in Opposition to it; so that you must blot these out of your Catalogue, *p.* 29. of the Defenders of your Doctrine, and the rest too, if your Quotations out of them be like these which I have examin'd; and I have Right to conclude they are no better, till these are justify'd to be *true* and *fair*; which I am confident is impossible to be done.

I shall now mention some of the Sacred Testimonies, which the Scriptures afford us.

I have already taken notice of the *Form* of *Blessing* in the Name of the *Holy Ghost*, as well as of the *Father* and of the *Son*; and that we are in like Manner to be *baptiz'd*; and of the Inference *Origen* makes from the *Omniscience* of the *Holy Spirit*. And St. *Paul* says, 1 *Cor.* c. ii, *v.* 10. 'The Spirit *searcheth the deep Things of* God; and 'Ουδείς. 'v. 11. *The Things of* God *knoweth* no *Man*, *but the* Spirit *of* God.

So 1 *Cor.* xii. St. *Paul* reckons up the several Gifts of the *Holy Spirit* in the 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 Verses; and in the 28th he ascribes them all to *God*; and as he says in the 4th Verse, 'There are *Diversities of Gifts*, *but the* same Spirit: So in the 4th and 5th Verses he says, 'It is *the same* Lord, 'the same God *which worketh* all *in* all.

Rom. ix. 1. St. *Paul* calls the *Holy Ghost* to witness: This is, *swearing* by Him, which is appealing to him as knowing our Hearts, which *God* only does. *I the Lord search the Heart, I try the Reins*, Jer. xvii. 10. And 'tis an Act of *Adoration* due only to *Almighty God*; and therefore our Saviour forbids us to swear even by *Heaven*, tho' it be the *Throne* of God, *Matt.* v. 34.

Acts v. 3. St. *Peter* tells *Ananias*, *He had lied to the Holy Ghost*; and *v.* 4. he says that by so doing he had *lied unto God*.

Acts xiii. 2. *The Holy Ghost said*, *Seperate* me *Barnabas* and *Saul*; and *v.* 4. they being sent forth, preached, *v.* 5. the *Word of God*.

These

These may be sufficient to shew that there are Sacred
estimonies also asserting the Godhead of the Holy
host.

And therefore let me expostulate with you, Why you
ver make him the direct Object of any
xology at all? For if he be *God*; if he P. 1.
lows upon us all other Gifts and Graces,
which we are enabled to do any Service to *God*, as is
dent both by Sacred and Primitive Testimonies, all
s of Adoration are due to him; and, *ad hominem*, I
y say, you especially should not deny this to him, be-
se in the Doxologies, which you quote, you allow this
of *Divine Worship* to be paid to *Christ*, though you make
but a *Creature*; which, if but a *Creature*, ought not to
paid to him.

here can be no doubt, but that the Doxologies in the
pture may be piously us'd by any good Christian;
d forbid, that they should be call'd *Arian*: But if
, who deny the *Divinity* of the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and
he *Holy Ghost*, use these Doxologies in *Opposition to the Di-*
y of *Christ* and the *Holy Ghost*, and as a Declaration of
r Denial of it, then they are *Arians*, or
thing (I know not what, for you call *Letter to the*
h *Arians* and *Athanasians* Hereticks) *Bishop of* Lon-
ch is *not Christian*, by wresting and abu- *don*, *p.* 5.
those Scriptures to a Purpose very diffe-
from the Doctrine therein expresly asserted and de-
red to us: The Devil quoted to our Sa-
r the Scripture exactly in Syllables; Psal. xci. 11.
in the Application and Use he made of Matt. iv. 6.
e was still a *Devil*, a *Tempter*, and *a Liar*,
uch as *from the Beginning*. Luk. iv. 10.
ow whatever may be that *Sin* against the *Holy Ghost*,
h our Saviour says shall never be forgiven, surely *de-*
that *Holy Spirit*, reducing this *Third* Person in the
d *Trinity* to a *Creature*, and that of a *Crea-*
; and doing this *despight to the Spirit of* Heb. x 29.
, must *most* of all be a Sin against *Him*:
tho there be a Sin *unto Death*, for which St. *John* will
say that *we shall pray*, yet in Charity I
hope you are not so hardned in it, but 1 John v. 16.

that

Heb. xii. 17. Μετανοίας τόπον. that you will find Place for Repentance, and a Way *to change your* Mind; and in order to it will seek it earneſtly with Tears; and therefore (tho' *you value not Anathema's* p. 41.) accept of my Prayers, that *that Holy Ghoſt*, that *Paraclet*, that *Advocate*, who maketh *Interceſſion for* us, *with Groanings which cannot be utter'd*, may give you his *Grace* to ſee your Error, and to repair by a publick Recantation (as much as in you lies) that Scandal, which you have given to true Chriſtians by ſo *unwarranted* and *blaſphemous* a Doctrine.

Rom. viii. 26.

I ſhould now, according to your Method, ſum up the Evidence on both Sides; but when I conſider how few Texts of Scripture you have cited, and how ſtrangely you have *miſconſtrued* and *miſapply'd* them; and how you have *mangled* your Teſtimonies by *leaving out* and *putting in* whatſoever ſuited your Purpoſe; I may very juſtly ſay, as you do, *p.* 37. it is not neceſſary to divide them under Two Heads; for you may be ſaid to have *made* Evidence, but to have *produced* none: So that if *renouncing your firſt Faith*, into which you were baptiz'd, be *a falling away*, and *that be a crucifying the Son of God afreſh*, I doubt we cannot ſay for the ſame Reaſon, for which our Saviour pray'd for them, who actually did crucify him, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

Hebr. i. 6.

Luk. xxiii. 34.

On the other Hand, if the *Texts* and *Prophecies* in the *Old Teſtament*, which teſtify of the *Meſſiah*, and what he was to be; and if the *Opinion* and *Expectation* of the *Jews* founded thereupon be of any Value.

John v. 39.

If *Revelations from Heaven*, the *Voice* of *God* the *Father*, bearing Witneſs of him, the *Holy Spirit* of *Truth*, the *Aſſertions* of our *Saviour himſelf*, and the *Writings* of the *inſpir'd Apoſtles*, and their *Succeſſors*, to the Time of *Arius* are *ſufficient* Evidence of *Truth*.

If *Miracles*, ſuch as *no* Man *ever* did, wrought by *his own* Power, and in *his own Name*, raiſing *himſelf* from the *Dead*, *authoritatively* forgiving *Sins*, *giving* the *Holy Ghoſt* and *eternal Life*, *receiving* and *requiring* from *all* Men *Adoration*, and *Worſhip*, and *Honour*, *no leſs* than what is paid to the *Father*, are as good Proofs of this *Divinity*, as they are of *Omnipotency*, which I take to be *ſynonymous*;

Then

hen the *Author* and *Finisher* of *our Faith* the *Lord Jesus* is
ally God, the *God* of our *Salvation*; and we must with
ful Lips praise him, and say, *Before thou* Psal. xc.
form'd the World, from everlasting to everla-
thou art God.

nd *no less* is the *Holy Spirit*, for which the Authorities
Proofs have been but so little before mention'd, that I
l not repeat them.

his is the *Faith* which has been *deliver'd to the Saints*;
has been *profess'd* and *taught* for 300 Years after *Christ*,
the incomparable Bishop *Bull* hath irrefragably prov'd;)
is is what hath been *confirm'd* by their *Miracles*, and
with their *Blood*; and also of their *Successors*, in Oppo-
tion to *Arius* and his Disciples; and in Spight of the *se-*
st, and indeed *more* barbarous Persecution than ever
s suffer'd under the most *cruel* and *inhuman Heathens*.
is *Seed* of the *Church* has brought forth *Fruit* for these
Years from that Time: In all which long Time have
re been no *learned*, no *pious*, *unbyass'd* Men in the *Christian*
rch, in no Part of the World, to rescue our Holy Religi-
from the *Errors*, which you now impute to it? Were they
in all these Ages *corrupt* and become *abominable*? Was
re none that would do so *great good*, *no, not one*? This
very *heavy* (think whether it be not also a very *arro-*
) Charge: Think whether against such a *Cloud*
Witnesses a Man may not be suspected to be *wise in*
own Conceit; especially since one Apostle
s told us, that *grievous Wolves will enter in*, Acts xx.
sparing the Flock; (and such surely the *Arians* 29. 30.
ve prov'd, and even more than at first the
sticks: And that Men shall arise, *speaking* Tim. iii.
m. xiv. *perverse Things, to draw away Disciples after them*;
ch as *silly Women*, or *Men weak in Faith*: and
other Apostle has foretold, that there
all be *false Teachers who shall privily* (I wish I Pet. ii.
d no Occasion now to add *Openly*) *bring in*
mnable Heresies. (I am sorry to reckon you among them,
I must by the Description which the same Apostle gives
them, *viz.*) *even denying the Lord that bought them*.
And unless that *Holy Ghost*, who was sent
om Heaven to *lead and guide* us *into all Truth*, John xvi.
nd to teach us all Things, has taught you to
eny himself; and that you can Evidence xvi 26.

your

your Doctrine, as the Apostles did that, which they *did*, and we *do* profess, by the miraculous Gifts of that *Holy Ghost*, you must excuse *me*, and Mankind will excuse *themselves* from submitting to your *Authority* and *peremptory ill-grounded* Assertions, in Contradiction of *those Apostles*, who, we both agree, did write as *they were moved by the Holy Ghost*.

And tho' it be one great Blessing and Privilege of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, foretold by the *Prophet*, and repeated by St. *Paul*, that all shall *know the Lord from the least to the greatest*; and the Scriptures were written for this Purpose, and *are profitable for Instruction*; and are *able to make us*, and even Children (for literally *Timothy*, to whom it is said, had *known them from a Child, wise unto Salvation*; yet they must be forbid to all *Protestants*, as well as *Papists*, who are not so learned and cunning Interpreters of them as your self and your Friends, lest they should be led by them into that *Faith* and *Worship* of their *Fathers*, *which You call Heresy*. Bishop *Kidder* mentions a *fabulous* Story among the *Jews*, that when *Almighty God* dictated the first Chapter of *Genesis* to *Moses*, and came to the 26th *Verse*, Let *Us* make Man; *Moses* was *startled*, and pray'd him to *alter* that Expression, lest it might be interpreted of a *Plurality of Gods*; but was answered, *Write* as *I command* you: So I fancy if you had been the *Amanuensis* to the *Apostles*, you would have propos'd to them to alter those *sacred* and *inspir'd* Writings which so *expressly* assert the *Divinity* of the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*; and *they* would have answered you, as *God* did *Moses*, or as St. *Paul* tells the *Corinthians* in the Case of the Lord's-Supper, *What I deliver to you I received of the Lord*; and as he tells the *Ephesians*, *I must not spare to declare unto you all the Council of God*; for there will arise Men *speaking perverse Things*, &c. and *other Foundation can no Man lay, than what is laid, which is Jesus Christ*.

Jer. xxxi. 34. Heb. viii. 11. 2 Tim. iii. 16. 2 Tim. iii. 15. Acts xxiv. 20. 1 Cor. xi. 23. Acts xx. v. 27. Ver. 30. 1. Cor. iii. Heb. xi. 1.

To conclude: *Faith*, says the Apostle, *is the Evidence of Things not seen*, not to be judg'd by our *Sense* or shallow *Reasoning* grounded upon

it: *Hardly do we guess aright at Things that upon Earth, but the Things that are in Heaven, who hath searched out? For the more thou searchest, more thou shalt marvel,* at the infinite Wisdom and Goodness of God in visiting his Creatures, till we come *to see him as he is,* and to *know him even as we are known.* Wisd. ix. 16. 2 Esdr. iv. 26. 1 John iii. 2. 1 Cor. xii. 12.

I pray God to enlighten your Eyes, that you may know at least *in this your Day the Things which belong unto your Peace*: And God grant that we may meet in Communion with the Church of Christ here, and with the Saints hereafter: Luk. xix. 42. Eph. i. 18. That beginning our Praises upon Earth, we may be admitted to join with the heavenly *Choir* in *eternal Alleluiahs*, to the Glory of *God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; One God, Blessed for Ever.* This is the surest Mark, which I can give you, of Friendship: And that

I am,

Your Humble Servant,

Burley,
Oct. 23. 1719.

NOTTINGHAM.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

THERE are some Things in your Letter *relating* to this Controversy, but not *properly* the *Subject* of it, which I have not taken notice of in the foregoing Letter, tho' they seem more particularly address'd to me than all the rest; and therefore I will now tell you what you may expect from me concerning them.

P. 38. You wish that I may be a happy Means of bringing all the Parts of our 'old genuine 'Christianity to such a *fair*, *open* and *impartial* Examination, as you have propos'd.

If you mean, as you ought, that *Method*, which in all Ages has been the Practice of the *Church* in determining *Controversies*, I heartily concur with you; and we have in our happy *Constitution* that Method *establish'd* by *Law*: The *Convocation* is a Part of the *Parliament*, and as of Right it must be summon'd with the *Parliament*; so that *Summons* will be rendred *insignificant* and *nugatory*, if they are not permitted to *sit* and *act* in *taking Care of that Flock of Christ*, of *which the Holy Ghost has made them Overseers*, and which the *Laws* of the *Land* have committed to them; especially at a Time when the *Doctrines* of our most holy *Faith* and the *Apostolical Institution* of the *Government* of our *Church*, are so virulently attack'd, and in so open and insolent a Manner.

It was the Advice of *Mecænas* to *Augustus*, never to suffer any Innovation in Religion; because the Peace of the State depended upon it: That Prince had Peace in all the World; but what *Disturbances*, what *Miseries*, *Innovations* in *Religion* have caus'd in *this* Nation, the History of the last Age informs us sufficiently; and how *fatal* the *Feuds* and *Animosities*

nostities, occasion'd by the *Pretenders* to Religion, in this
y be, *no* Man can *foretel*, *every* good Man *fears*.
Now whatever ill Use has been made of the Text for
ering the *Tares*, *which* were *sown by the Enemy*, *to grow up*
the Wheat; yet surely we are not to lay our selves to
p *on purpose* to *give* the Enemy an *Opportunity* to sow
m. The *Jews* reckon they are forbid even by the Law
Moses to revile the *Gods* of other Notions, which were
ods: But that the *Son of God* whom we, and all *Chri-*
tians, adore as the *God of our Salvation*, should be *revil'd*,
pled upon, and *put* to *open Shame* by *those* of our *own Na-*
in Contempt of the *Laws* of the *Land* as well as of
uncontroul'd, without any *Animadversion*, without giving
proper Champions of our *Faith* an Opportunity to *re-*
and *reclaim* them from their *Errors*, is so unaccountable
oceeding both in *Prudence* and *Religion*, that I will hope
peedy Remedy will be apply'd to it; and that *those*,
are in *Authority*, will free themselves not only from
Suspicion, but from the *real Guilt* too of being *Partakers*
ther Mens Sins; for, *qui non prohibet*, *cum potest*, *jubet*:
I therefore that they will advise his Majesty to give the
hers and *Pastors* of *our Church* leave to speak for them-
es, and indeed for the *King*: For *Defender of the Faith*
ot an *empty* Title. The *Defense* of the *Church* of *Eng-*
d, and the *holy Religion* profess'd in it, is the *Foundation* of
Revolution, and of *His Majesty's Succession* to the *Throne*.
d, after all our Experiments, this Church will be found
e, as was said of the Sanctuary, *The Ex-*
cy of our Strength, and indeed of all the Ezekiel
testants in *Europe*; who, as much as they xiv. 21.
nt our *Support*, will have little Reason to
nk we shall be much concern'd for *them*, with *whom*,
some Points we differ if we shew but little Zeal for our
mon Christianity, in which we *agree*.
By what I have now said, and the foregoing Letter,
u may easily conclude, what my Opinion will be of
ur Demand of an open *Toleration*: If the *Lord Jesus* be
reature, and you worship him, 'tis *Idolatry*; If he be
d, and you deny him, 'tis *Blasphemy*. And what Punish-
ent *Almighty God* ordain'd for *both* these *Sorts* of *Offenders*
u know. What Texts have you to quote for an Ex-
ption from *those* Penalties; or, at least, *such* as the

Laws of the *Land* inflict? What can we say in Conscience for an *Indulgence*, and thereby in some Measure, *establishing* these *Iniquities* by *a Law*? When the *Jews* assaulted the Christians, and beat them even before the Judgment-Seat, 'twas no small Reproach to *Gallio*, that he *cared for none of those Things*. Shall the States of the Realm out-do that *stupid Governor*, and even *countenance* nay *authorize* Assaults upon the *Lord Jesus* himself? Thus we should expose ourselves to that severe Rebuke, *These are the Wounds, which I receiv'd in the House of my Friends*.

Acts xviii.

Zech. xiii. 6.

But if this were not the Case, with what Face can *Christians* ask such Favour from any who have ever read the History of their *Barbarities*? I might say, They have taught us a *Lesson against themselves*; but I am far from inferring from thence a *Retaliation*; but surely 'tis a *prudent*, and, in this loose Age, a *necessary* Caution, not to admit such *Enemies* within our *Walls*, nor make it possible for them ever to be in a Condition to practise the like again.

As for that wonderful Book, as you call it, *p.* 40. 'The *Apostolical Constitutions*, by which you would have the Doctrine, *Discipline*, *Government*, *Worship* and *Canons* of the *Church* amended; or rather that it might be admitted entirely as an *Original Rule* and *Standard* in these Matters.' I am not learned enough to argue from Authorities that This is not *genuine*; but I have some Things against the Use *You* have made of it, and which you desire *others* and the *whole Church of God* to do too.

You your self say, *p.* 41. That you believe it to be *genuine* and *for the main* uncorrupt. I cannot well reconcile these Two. For if there be any *known* Corruptions in it, then it is not *genuine* and *Authentick*; or at least it must be purg'd of those *Corruptions*, before it can be of *any Authority*: And how shall we distinguish them? I know you have a short Rule for it, *viz.* Whatever does not *suit* with your *Opinion* is *corrupt*; and by the same Reason, whatever does not suit with your *Adversaries Opinion*, must be judg'd by them to be *corrupt*: And at this Rate the *whole* must be laid aside; and indeed it is very fit it should be so.

P. 40. 41.

For

For how can *This* be a *Rule* and *Standard*, which must
self be *try'd* by some *other Rule*, before it
in Reason be admitted to be so? And Acts xx. 27.
the Scriptures the Whole *Counsel of God hath*
made known to us; if, as in the 6th Article of our
urch, *they contain* All *Things necessary to Salvation*, or, as
Paul says, *are able to make us wise unto Sal-*
vation, What need have we to seek for ano- 2 Tim. 3. 15.
r Rule? Or to *heap* to our selves Teachers,
ing itching Ears? For 'tis as St. *Paul* tells 2 Tim. iv. 3.
an *Evidence*, that we will *not* endure *sound Doctrine*.
But I will suppose your Quotations out of this Book,
I have not compar'd them) are, not like your *other*
otations, but, in *all* Respects, *right* and *fair*: Then if
e are *inconsistent* with the *avow'd* Writings of the *Apo-*
, as *most certainly* they are; Which of the *Two* shall a
n, that is to form his *Faith*, be guided by? Those
ritings, which are acknowledg'd by *Both* to be *genuine*,
written by *Inspiration*; or *those*, which are *controverted*?
e Choice is *Easy*, and besides the *genuine* Scriptures be-
first written, St. *Paul* says, tho' an Angel
from Heaben should preach any other Gospel than that Gal. i. 8.
which we have preach'd unto you; *Let him be accurs'd.*
But suppose you could answer *every* Objection to *this*
nderful Book, (which I am confident you *cannot* as a
holar; and I am sure you cannot *reconcile* or *maintain*
e Contradictions in it to the *true* Scriptures) I pray you
consider the *Consequence* of it, and the *Mischief* you do
Religion by the Attempt of it; for the *genuine Scriptures*
d *this* Book cannot *both* be *true*; but if *both* be *asserted* and
de out to be of *equal* Authority, the Consequence must
(and *wicked Men*, *Atheists* and *Deists* will not fail to in-
rr it) that we must believe *neither*; for tho' *one* Part of
Contradiction must be *true*, yet a Witness, who affirms
h Parts, is never *believ'd*, but is set *aside* as a *false* one in
Courts of all the World; because *one* Part of what
e says must be *false*; and there can be no Reason or O-
igation *from him* to believe *one* Part of what he says more
an the *other*: So that if the *Apostles* have really *writ* or
ated both the *sacred Books* and the *Constitutions*, they must
se all Credit of *Inspir'd* Writers, and consequently you
ave furnish'd a sufficient Argument to set aside *all re-*
veal'd

veal'd Religion: So that I may justly say of this Book, as the *Roman* Prætor *Petillius* did of That of the Laws of *Numa Pompilius*; which, like *This*, was dug out of Rubbish; that it was fitted only to *dissolve* all Religion; or rather that *This forms* a Religion that is it self fit to be *dissolv'd*, and therefore should *be burnt*, as That was by the Senate, rather than brought into the Senate, rather than brought into the *Canon of the Scriptures*, which we are *sure* are the *Word of God*.

Liv. l. 40.

The Jesuits in *China* have form'd a *new* Gospel representing our *Saviour* only in his *most exalted* State, concealing his *Crucifixion*: On the other Hand, you are depressing him into a *Creature*, not *concealing*, but *denying* his *Deity*. They might have learnt a better Lesson from St. *Paul*, of glorifying only in the *Cross of Christ*; and St. *John* hath told *You*, that *he who denies the Son is Antichrist*: *They* take away the *Means* of our Salvation, You take away the *Power*, by which he can *bestow* and *give* it to us: They speak *some* Truth, but not the *whole* Truth: You *deny the Truth*, which St. *John* says, is no less than *making a God Liar, by not believing the Record which God gave of his Son*.

Gal. iv. 14.

1 John ii. 22.

1 John v. 10.

FINIS.

3 4 7 - 5

GLOTTA

A

POEM

umbly inscribed to the Right Honourable the
MARQUESS of CARNARVON.

By Mr. ARBUCKLE, Student in the
University of GLASGOW.

u mihi, Timoleon, magni spes maxima Patris,
ec Patriæ minor, Aonii novus incola Montis,
dde gradum comes. ---------- Buch: *de Sphæra.*

GLASGOW,
rinted by WILLIAM DUNCAN, and
are to be sold in his Shop in the *Salt-Mercat*,
M. DCC. XXI.

GLOTTA

A

POEM,

SACRED, O *Glotta*, be the following Strains;
Thy flow'ry Borders, and thy pleasing Plains,
re the Muse. *Carnarvon*, present be;
g of *Glotta*, and I Sing to thee;
se late appearance in these *Northern* Climes
us reflected back in *Northern* Rhimes.

WINDSOR's fair Foreſt in the Poet's Lays
Its verdant Beauties far and wide diſplays;
Nor length of Time can change the beauteous Scene
Become Immortal in the Godlike Strain.
Ev'n Trees long ſince decay'd, in Verſe ariſe,
And wave for ever in fictitious Skies.
Oh! did my Breaſt with equal Ardor glow,
So *Glotta*'s Flood ſhould in my Numbers flow.
Not *Cooper's*-Hill more Graceful ſhould appear,
Nor lovely *Loddon*'s Chriſtal Waves more clear.
Tho' *Thames* in five Degrees of better Skies,
Nearer the Sun, and Royal *BRUNSWICK* lies,
Tho' fair *Auguſta's Towrs* his Banks adorn,
And plenty boaſts an unexhauſted Horn,
Our *Glotta* yet with juſtice lays her Claim
To ſhare his Beauty, tho' not Wealth and Fame.
Here Nature's Charms in gay Confuſion riſe,
Not leſs delightful, while they give ſurprize.

The

here Mountains cap'd with everlasting Snow,
efend from Storms the fruitful Vales below
ere Palaces along the River's side,
lustrious tremble in the Silver Tide.
air Fields of Corn enrich the labour'd Soil,
he Reaper's Treasure now, as once his Toil.
either Side sequester'd Arbours close,
nd awful scenes of silent Bliss compose:
gh o'er the rest the *Oak* his Head up rears,
o brave the Tempests of a Thousand Years.
'n the bold Shores that break the foaming Flood,
frightful Prospect yield, tho' wild and rude;
t marks to guide the trembling Pilot stand,
d in their Arms import him safe to Land.

As mighty Things from small Beginings rise,
Glotta's Flood at first a Brook supplies,
ill by the Confluence of Successive Streams,
he swelling Current larger Channel claims.

Now

Now rifted Mountains interrupt its Courſe;
In vain; Reſiſtance but augments its Force.
Calm and ſerene, it Paſſage firſt demands,
And in ſuſpence a while collected ſtands,
Till grown impatient with too long delay,
It gathers all its Rage, and burſts its way.
As o'er the Steep the ruſhing Torrents break,
The Mountains tremble, and the Vallies ſhake.
With dreadful din the deep Abyſs reſounds;
Our Ears not more the cruſh of Thunder wounds.
But ſoon appeas'd, again it gently flows,
And lips the flow'ry Margin as it goes.

And now the Groves of *Hamilton* appear,
Th' enamour'd Flood retards its Progreſs here:
Unnumber'd Beauties croud the verdant Plain,
And ſweetly mingle with the Sylvan Scene.
Here Art and Nature, ſeeming to conteſt
Not more to pleaſe us, than delude us beſt,

sguiſe their Form, and borrow'd Poſtures chuſe;
ture is regular, and Art profuſe.
theſe Retreats a long illuſtrious Line
eir fair Abode th' indulgent Pow'rs aſſign:
Race of *Heroes* fam'd in Ages paſt;
may their Virtues propagate, and laſt!

OF lovely *Avon* who the Charms can tell,
oſe clear chaſte Waves thy Boſom, *Glotta*, ſwell?
vo verdant Hillocks bank the ſhining Stream,
eir Image quiv'ring in the watry Gleam.
the fair Mirrour pleas'd the Wood-Nymphs look,
d draw green Landskips on the mimick Brook:
e on a rugged Rock with wild ſurprize,
rncleugh's high Terraces romantick riſe;
hanging Paradiſe; enchanted Scenes,
y Precipices; and refracted Greens.

OH, happy he! whom bounteous Heav'n ſhall give
e nauſeous World forſaking, here to live;

In

In humble Virtues all his Hours employ,
And feel his Bosom pant with silent Joy;
Contemplate Heav'n, and look upon the Sun,
See the Trees blossom, and the River run;
Amid the Shades in sober Transports walk,
And hold with conscious Heav'n mysterious Talk.
Here with Contempt he Mortals may behold,
In low Pursuits of empty Bliss grow old,
Himself possessing all that Nature knows,
Conducive or to Pleasure, or Repose.

DESCENDING with the winding Flood, the Muse
A joyless Sight, deserted *Bothwel* views;
Late generous *Forfar*'s; who by Rebels slain,
Abates the Glory of thy Fields, *Dumblain*.
Are these thy Gifts, oh fatal Love of Fame!
And must a Life be lost to win a Name?
In equal Hazards must the Virtuous be,
Who fight to save, and conquer to set free,

th thoſe that grown in impious Actions bold,
ıſt all their Merit Kings and Countries ſold?
, *Glotta*, juſtly thou thy valiant Son
ght'ſt in ſad Strains, and ſadder yet bemoan;
o brought new Honours to a mighty Name,
antient Date, and near ally'd to Fame:
Heav'n reproves thy Grief, and bids thee ſmile,
happy in an *Orkney*, and *Argyle*.

HRO' flow'ry Vallies, and enamel'd Meads,
haſtening Flood at length to *Glaſgow* ſpeeds.
Northern Bank a lovely Green diſplays,
oſe e'ery Proſpect freſh Delights conveys.
rnate Shades of blowing Flow'rs we view
various Tincture, waſh'd in fragrant Dew.
the ſhrill Larks their mattin Songs repeat,
yielding Air the tender Strains dilate,
o'er the Surface of the Stream they glide;
ſweetly languiſh on the Silver Tide.

Here, when declining *Sol* extends the Shades,
Resort victorious Throngs of charming Maids.
Not fabled *Paphos*, or th' *Arcadian* Plain,
Could ever boast a brighter Virgin Train;
More gentle Looks, or Eyes more sparkling shou
Or Cheeks that with a livelier Crimson glow.
What envious Pow'r then first contriv'd, or made
That Foe to Beauty, and to Love, a Plaid?
Destruction seize the guilty Garb, that holds
Conceal'd such Charms in its malicious Folds.
Of this, O *Thyrsis*, could thy Strains unshrine,
Thy *Sacchariſſa*, how the Fair would shine!
Her bright Example would the Law impose,
And all the Green a Gallaxy disclose.

IN *Winter* too, when hoary Frosts o'erspread,
The verdant Turf, and naked lay the Mead,
*The vig'rous Youth commence the sportive W
And arm'd with Lead, their jointed Clubs prepa

*The Game of Golf.

Timber Curve to Leathern Orbs apply,
pact, Elaſtic, to pervade the Sky:
ſe to the diſtant Hole direct they drive;
y claim the Stakes who thither firſt arrive.
t his Ball the eager Gameſter eyes,
Muſcles ſtrains, and various Poſtures tries,
impelling Blow to ſtrike with greater Force,
ſhape the motive Orb's projectile Courſe.
ith due Strength the weighty Engine fall,
harg'd obliquely, and impinge the Ball,
inding mounts aloft, and ſings in Air;
wond'ring Crowds the Gameſter's Skill declare.
when ſome luckleſs wayward Stroke deſcends,
ſe Force the Ball in running quickly ſpends,
Foes triumph, the Club is curs'd in vain;
tators ſcoff, and ev'n Allies complain.
s ſtill Succeſs is follow'd with Applauſe;
ah! how few eſpouſe a vanquiſh'd Cauſe!

HE Muſe would ſing, when *Glaſgow* ſhe ſurveys,
Glaſgow's Beauty ſhall outlaſt her lays.

Tho' ſmall in Compaſs, not the leſt in Fame,
She boaſts her lofty Tow'rs, and antient Name.
Rais'd eminent the ſacred Pile appears,
Rev'rend with Age, but not impair'd by Years,
From holy *Mungo* nam'd; of daring Height,
And Antique Structure, awful to the Sight,
To Heav'n their Homage here the Living pay;
Here wait the Dead the Dawn of endleſs Day.
The neigbouring Rocks, and mingled Graves encrea
The ſilent Horrors of the ſacred Place;
Bid Human-kind their latter End diſcern,
And living well, the Art of Dying learn.

OH, How my Breaſt with Ardent Wiſhes glow
The Muſes now their lov'd Retreat diſcloſe,
With pious Care preſerving ſtill in Bloom
Tranſplanted hither, th' Arts of *Greece* and *Ro*
Here in long Mazes of abſtracted Thought
Thy Footſteps, Truth, the learned Tribe have ſou

ur virtuous Youth the generous Chaſe purſue,
nproving Antient Arts, or ſearching new:
ot idly reſting in the ſhow of Things,
t tracing Nature to her hidden Springs.
n' radiant Hoſt of rolling Orbs above,
w vaſt their Circles, and how ſwift they move,
at Pow'r directs their everlaſting Line,
Turns to ſeek the Centre, or decline.
at Second-Cauſe Heav'n's high Commands performs
hatt'ring Tempeſts, and convulſive Storms,
en in an awful Gloom the Clouds ariſe,
e Light'nings flaſh, and Thunders burſt the Skies.
y cold the fluid Element reſtores
arder Subſtance, yet of wider Pores.
what more nearly touches Human-kind,
Pow'rs and Nature of Immortal Mind,
ch only conſcious of its Being, knows
Eternal SOURSE from whence that Being flows.
Laws their Force and Sanctity obtain,
far they reach, and what they ſhould reſtrain.

Whence

Whence flow the Rules the Good and Juſt obey,
And how themſelves all Virtue's Arts repay.
Happy Purſuits that bring ſerene Delight,
Endear paſt Labours, and to new invite.
Let Vice diſplay her Charms, nor we embrace,
Her gay Deluſions, and falacious Peace:
Where ſhort's the Truce we from our Torments gain,
And varying Pleaſure but perpetuates Pain.
Theſe better Arts into the Mind convey
More lively Joys, and in a nobler Way.

EXCUSE, my Lord, the Muſe, nor diſapprove
Theſe faint Expreſſions of a well-meant Love.
This Verſe at leſt was to a Mother due,
Nor ill diſcharg'd the Debt when paid to you,
Whoſe generous Viſit to the Reverend Dame
Renews her Luſtre, and aſſerts her Fame.
Oh, may it laſt! and ſhe continue late
Lov'd by the Wiſe, and honour'd by the Great,

Propitious

pitious Fates the Matron ſtill attend:
ntroſe protect, and *Chandois* long befriend.

ALBION may boaſt, nor boaſts indeed in vain,
Learning's Sons a long illuſtrious Train;
pired Bards, and Sages born to view
uth's dark Receſſes, and look Nature thro':
r envy, *Scotia*, thou a Siſters Worth,
ile *Phœbus* plants his Lawrels in the *North*.
re *Douglas*, here the noble *Maitland* Sung; *
Auſonian Lyre here fam'd *Buchanan* ſtrung.
alted high the godlike Genius ſhines,
Britiſh Bard confeſs'd in *Roman* Lines.
greatly injur'd Shade! who ſhall attone
e wrongs to thee by envious Criticks done?
ardent Vow may Heav'n indulgent hear,
d Tune to *Britiſh* Strains thy charming SPHERE.

But

* *Gavin Douglas* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and *John Maitland* late Earl of *Lauderdale*.

But ſmall were Fame from Ages paſt deriv'd,
Unleſs an equal Genius ſtill ſurviv'd.
Its ancient Vigour ſtill the Soil exerts;
In Arms by none, by few excell'd in Arts.

O happy *Glotta*, ſuch a Realm to boaſt;
A Realm unleſs by thee ſupported, loſt,
Hers are the Fruits thy floating Foreſts yield,
And th' annual Harveſts of the watry Field.
For her thy *Oaks* their native Realms explore,
Deſpoiling Kingdoms which they grac'd before.
Thy plenteous Flood a ſcaly Breed ſupplies;
And Seas produce the Gold the land denies.
An Hundred Nations by thy Bounty live
And in return their Wealth to *Britain* give.
See! how in Shoals the finny Squadrons ſail,
Their numbers dreadful to the Tyrant *Whale*.
Thro' the green Wave the ſparkling *Herring* ſpring
The Surface breaking into Silver Rings.

The

he broad-back'd *Cod* his ſcarlet Gills diſplays,
vours his Neighbours, and uſurps the Seas.
uch'd on the Deep, a horrid Monſter lies
he *Seal*, and barks to ſilent Rocks and Skies.
vain their number, and their Strength in vain
n Fraud oppoſe, or Induſtry reſtrain:
ught in the Net, a certain Prey they lie,
by the Hook's diſſembling Bounty die.
n deeper yet, our Luxury purſues
e ſlumbring *Oyſter* in its peaceful Ooze.
licious Morſel! what, alas! avail
y lucid Globe, and cloſe indented Mail?
what is loſing ſuch a Life as thine,
n a Crown the ripen'd Drop ſhall ſhine;
on *Belinda*'s panting Boſom ſhown,
lave a Thouſand Hearts, beſides her own?
pine not we, tho' barb'rous Nations boaſt
auſtleſs Riches in a Golden Coaſt;

Since in our Floods are lodg'd thoſe precious Stores,
That join both Worlds, and make their Products ours
Theſe Bleſſings Heav'n, and Liberty beſtow;
And ſuch thy happy Portion, *Glotta* now.

NOT ſuch the Times our great Forefathers ſaw:
Whoſe Lives were endleſs War, and Arms their Law,
When factious *Thanes* the publick Peace withſtood
And *Scottiſh* Fields profan'd with *Scottiſh* Blood.
Ere yet the Fate-inferring Marble Chair
Its dark myſterious meaning did declare,
Or our proud Thiſtle mingled with the Roſe,
To bid defiance to *Britania's* Foes.
The fruitful Fields, neglected ſcarcely fed
The hardy Race, who to defend them bled.
Nor Hills nor Vales could other Proſpects ſhow,
Than ſights obſcene, and Monuments of Woe.
Then *Glotta*, leaning on her Silver Urn,
Was heard her deſolated Shores to mourn.

flowing Treſſes droping Pearls no more,
th Sedge, and ſlimy Ooze were clotted o'er.
rror her Garb, her Look Dejection wears,
Mantle bloody and her Eyes in Tears.
en on the Hills a ſecond-ſighted Sage,
Viſions rais'd, tho' bending down with Age,
ear'd, and raviſh'd into future Times,
pos'd, her Sorrows in prophetick Rhimes.

ORBEAR, he ſaid, fair Nymph, thy Griefs forbear
give a Looſe to Terror, and Deſpair.
Time ſhall come, the Time already ſee!
joyful Reign of glorious Liberty:
en generous Views thy Sons ſhall reconcile,
Peace and Plenty on thy Borders ſmile.
oſtile Banks then *Tweed* ſhall flow no more,
join the Realms ſhe did divide before.
ere little Tyrants rul'd a ravag'd Land,
ere lawful Kings ſhall ſtretch their juſt Command,

Atten-

Attentive hear their injur'd People groan,
And make the weary Ploughman's Toils his own:
Secure the Fields in their entruſted Grain,
Bear down th' Oppreſſor, and protect the Swain.
Safe on thy Banks thy peaceful Sons ſhall ſtray,
To throw the Net, and ſeize the ſcaly Prey.
For then unus'd to Tumults and Alarms,
The Youth ſhall find no further Uſe of Arms,
Nor Foes purſue, but in the *Sylvan* Chace:
And wage no War but with the brutal Race.

CEASE then thy Fears, erect thy downcaſt Eyes
See fairer Days, and brighter Suns ariſe:
Thy Fields with Corn, thy Borders crown'd with Wood,
And goodly Navies floating in thy Floods,
Mankind deliver'd from the ſlaught'ring Sword,
Juſtice triumphant, and her Scales reſtor'd:
Mercy infolding Wretches in her Arms,
And Faith all ſhining with unſpotted Charms.

Her

said; the rushing Winds forgot to blow,
ooth was the Surface, and the Waves roll'd slow:
e Goddess smil'd, and from her radiant Eyes
chearful Gleam o'erspread the watry Skies:
ound her flock'd the Nymphs, and little Loves,
gentle Zephyrs fann'd the fragrant Groves.

E yours my Lord, in after Years the Care
e Royal *Brunswick's* gracious Toils to share.
e Patriot second the Imperial smile,
equal shine on all the *British* Isle,
ll all Disgusts, and secret Murmurs gone,
Realm in Int'rest as in Name be One:
artial Riches flow in ev'ry Stream,
Thames and *Glotta* mutual Friendship claim.
ile I, the meanest of the tuneful Train,
cribe green Fields, and paint the *Sylvan* Scene:

Happy

Happy, if *Glotta* in my Strains ſhall be
Grac'd with Poetick Banks, and firſt by me.

F I N I S.

THE

GENEOLOGIE

Of all the

KINGS

OF

SCOTLAND.

THEIR

LIVES,

The Years of their Coronation, the Time of their Reign, the Year of their Death, and Manner thereof, with the Place of their Burial.



Printed in the Year M DCC XXI.

THE GENEALOGIE of the KINGS OF SCOTLAND, WITH THEIR LIVES.

The Years of their Coronation, the Time of their Reigns, the Years of their Death, and Manner of their Death, and the Place of their Burial.

THE

GENEOLOGIE

Of all the

KINGS

OF

SCOTLAND.

Declaring what Year of the World, and of Christ, they began to Reign, how long they Reigned, and what Qualities they were of.



ERGUS the first King of *Scotland*, the son of *Ferquhard*, a Prince of *Ireland*, began to reign in the year of the world, 3641. Before the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 330 years: In the first year of the 112*th* Olympiad, and in the 421*st* year of the building

ing of *Rome* : About the beginning of the 3*d* monarchy of the *Grecians*, when *Alexander* the great overthrew *Darius Codomannus* the laſt Monarch of *Perſia*. He was a valiant prince, and died by ſhipwrack, upon the ſea-coaſt of *Ireland*, near unto *Craigfergus* in the 25*th* year of his reign.

2. *Fertharis*, brother to *Fergus*, began to reign in the year of the world, 3666. In the year before coming of Chriſt, 305. He was a good juſticiar. In his time there was a law made that if the ſones of the King departed, were ſo young, that they could not rule, that then in that caſe, the neareſt in blood ſhould reign, being in age ſufficient for Government ; and then after his death, the King's children ſhould ſucceed : Which law contiuued unto *Kenneth* the third his days, 1025 years almoſt. He was ſlain by the means of *Ferlegus*, *Fergus*, his brother's ſon, in the 15*th* year of his reign.

3. *Mainus*, King *Fergus* ſon, ſucceeded to his fathers brother, in the year of the world, 3680 And in the year before the coming of Chriſt, 290. He was a wiſe and good King, and married the King of *Picts* daughter, that did bear him two ſons. He died peaceably in the 29*th* year of his reign.

4. *Dornadilla* ſucceeded to his father *Mainus*, in the year of the world, 3709. In the year before the coming of Chriſt, 262. A good King, He made the firſt laws concerning

cerning hunting, He had two ſons, and died peaceably in the 28*th* year of his reign.

5. *Nothatus* ſucceeded to his brother *Dornadilla* in the year of the world, 3738. And the year before the coming of Chriſt, 233. He was a greedy and a cruel tyrant. He was ſlaain by *Dovalus*, one of his nobles, in the 20*th* year of his reign.

6. *Reutherus*, *Dornadilla* his ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 3758. In the year before the coming of Chriſt, 213. He was a good King, and died peaceably in 26*th* year of his reign.

7. *Reutha* ſucceeded to his brother *Reutherus*, in the year of the world, 3784. In the year before the coming of Chriſt, 187. A good King. He of his own accord left the kingdom, and lived a private life, when he had ruled 14 years.

8 *Thereus*, *Reutherus* ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 3798. In the year before Chriſt, 173. He was an unwiſe and cruel tyrant. He was expelled and baniſhed the realm, in the 12*th* year of his reign, by his nobles: And *Conanus*, a wiſe and grave man, was made governor of the land. He died in exile in the city of *York*.

9. *Joſina* ſucceeded his brother *Thereus*, in the year of the world, 3810. In the year before Chriſt, 161. He was a quiet and good Prince, a good medicinar and herbiſter, or skilful in phyſick and the nature of herbs.

He died in peace, in the 24*th* year of his reign.

10. *Finnanus*, *Josina* his son, began to reign in the year of the world, 3834. In the year before Christ, 137. A good King. He was much given to the superstitious religion of the *Druydes*. He died in peace, in the 30*th* year of his reign.

11. *Durstus*, *Finnanus* son, succeeded to his father in the year of the world, 3864. In the year before Christ, 107. A cruel and trayterous tyrant, slain by his nobles in battle, in the 9*th* year of his reign.

12. *Evenus* the first, succeeded to his brother *Durstus*, in the year of the world, 3873. In the year before the coming of Christ, 98. A wise, just and vertuous Prince. He died peaceably in the 19*th* year of his reign.

13. *Gillus*, *Evenus* bastard son, succeeded to his father, in the year of the world, 3892. In the year before Christ, 79. A crafty tyrant, slain in battel by *Cadallus*, in the 2*d* year of his reign.

14. *Evenus* the second, *Donallus* son, King *Finnanus* brother, began to reign in the year of the world, 3894. In the year before the coming of Christ, 77. A good and civil King. He died in peace, in the 17*th* year of his reign.

15. *Ederus*, son to *Dochamus*, that was son to *Durstus* the eleventh King, began to

to reign in the year of the world, 3911. In the year before the coming of Christ, 60. A wise, valiant and good Prince. He died in the 48*th* year of his reign.

16. *Evenus* the third, succeeded to his father *Ederus*, in the year of the world, 3959. In the year before the coming of Christ, 12. A luxurious and covetus wicked King. He was taken by his nobles, and imprisoned, and died in prison in the 7*th* year of his reign.

17. *Metellanus*, *Ederus* brother's son, began to reign in the year of the world, 3966. Four years before Christ's Incarnation. A very modest and good King. He died in the 39*th* year of his reign. In his time there was peace at home and abroad, and our Saviour Jesus Christ was born, and suffered death in his reign.

18. *Caractacus*, the son of *Cadallanus* and of *Eropeia*, which was sister to *Metellanus*, began to reign in the year of the world, 4005. In the year after the birth of Christ, 35. He was a wise and valiant King, and reigned 20 years.

19. *Corbredus* the first, succeeded to his brother *Caractacus*, in the year of the world, 4025. In the year of Christ, 55. A wise King, and a good justiciar, or executor of justice. He died in peace in the 18*th* year of his reign.

20. *Dardannus*, nephew to *Metellanus* began to reign, in the year of the world, 4042. In the year of Christ, 72. A cruel tyrant. He was taken in battel, and beheaded by his own subjects, in the 4*th* year of his reign.

21. *Corbedus* the second, surnamed *Galdus* son to the former *Corbredus*, began to reign in the year of the world, 4046. In the year of Christ, 76. A valiant and worthy King; for he had many wars with the *Romans*, and was oft victorious over them. He died in peace, in the 35*th* year of his reign.

22. *Lugthacus*, succeeded to his father *Corbredus* the second, in the year of the world, 4080. In the year of Christ, 110. A lecherous bloody tyrant. He was slain by his nobles in the 3*d* year of his reign.

23. *Mogallus*, son to the sister of *Corbredus* the second. He began to reign in the year of the world, 4083. In the year of Christ, 113. A good King, and victorious in the beginning of his reign? But in the end of his life, became inclined to tyranny, lechery and covetousness, and was slain by his nobles in the 36*th* year of his reign.

24. *Conarus* succeeded to his father *Mogallus*, in the year of the world, 4119. In the year of Christ, 149. A lecherous tyrant. He was imprisoned by his nobles, and died in prison in the 14*th* year of his reign, and *Argadus* a noble man was made governour.

25. *Etho-*

25. *Ethodius* the first, son to the sister of *Mogallus*, began to reign in the year of the world, 4133. In the year of Christ, 163. He was a good Prince. He was slain by an *Irish* harper, whom he admitted to lie in his chamber, in the 33*d* year of his reign.

26. *Satraell* succeeded to his brother *Ethodius* the first, in the year of the world, 4165. In the year of Christ, 195. A cruel tyrant. He was slain by his own courtiers in the 4*th* year of his reign.

27. *Donald* the first, the first christian King of *Scotland*, succeeded to his brother *Satraell*, in the year of the world, 4169. In the year of Christ, 199. A good and religious King. He was the first of the Kings of *Scotland* that coin'd money of gold and silver. He died in the 18*th* year of his reign.

28. *Ethodius* the second, son to *Ethodius* the first, began to reign in the year of the world, 4186, In the year of Christ, 216. An unwise and base-minded King, governed by his nobles. He was slain by his own guard in the 16*th* year of his reign.

29. *Athirco* succeeded to his father *Ethodius* the second, in the year of the world, 4201. In the year of Christ, 231. A valiant Prince in the beginning, but he degenerated and became vicious, and being hardly pursued by his nobles for his wicked life, slew himself in the 12*th* year of his reign.

30. *Nathalocus*, as some write, son to the brother of *Athirco*, began to reign in the year of the world, 4212. In the year of Christ, 242. A cruel tyrant, slain by his nobles, and cast away into a privy, in the 11*th* year of his reign.

31. *Findocus*, son of *Athirco*, began to reign in the year of the world, 4223. In the year of Christ, 253. A good King and valiant, slain by fained hunters, at the instigation of *Donald*, Lord of the Iles, his brother, in the 11*th* year of his reign.

32. *Donald* the second, succeeded to his brother *Findocus*, in the year of the world, 4234. In the year of Christ, 264. A good Prince. He was wounded in battle, and being overcome, died for grief and sorrow in the 1*st* year of his reign.

33. *Donald* the third, Lord of the Iles, brother to *Findocus*, began to reign in the year of the world, 4235. In the year of Christ, 265. A cruel tyrant, slain by *Crathilinthus* his successor, in the 12*th* year of his reign.

34. *Crathilinthus*, *Findocus* son, began to reign in the year of the world, 4247. In the year of Christ, 277. A valiant and a godly King. He purged the land from the idolatrous superstition of the *Druides*, and planted the sincere christian religion. He died in peace in the 24*th* year of his reign. In his time was *Constantine* the great Em-

Emperour of christendom born in *England.*

35. *Fincormachus*, son to the brother of the father of *Crathilinthus*, began his reign in the year of the world, 4271. In the year of Christ, 301. A godly King and valiant. He was a worthy furtherer of the kingdom of Christ in *Scotland.* He died in peace in the 47*th* year of his reign.

36. *Romachus*, brother's son to *Crathilinthus*, began to reign in the year of the world. 4318. In the year of Christ, 348. A cruel tyrant, slain by his nobles, and his head striken off, in the 3*d* year of his reign.

37. *Angusianus*, *Crathilinthus* brother's son succeeded to *Romachus*, in the year of the world, 4321. In the year of Christ, 351. A good King, slain in battel by the *Picts*, in the 3*d* year of his reign.

38. *Fethelmachus*, another brother's son of *Crathilinthas*, he began to reign in the year of the world, 4324. In the year of Christ, 354. He was a valiant King; for he overcame the *Picts*, and slew their King. He was betray'd to the *Picts* by an harper, and slain by them in his own chamber, in the 3*d* year of his reign.

39. *Eugenius* the first, *Fincormachus* son, began to reign in the year of the world, 4327. In the year of Christ, 357. A valiant, just and good King. He was slain

in battel by the *Picts* and *Romans* in the 3*d* year of his reign, and the whole *Scotish* nation was utterly expelled the Ile, by the *Picts* and *Romans*, and remained in exile about the space of 44 years.

40. *Fergus* the second, *Erthus* son's son to *Ethodius*, *Eugenius* the first his brother, returning into *Scotland*, with the help of of the *Danes* and *Gothes*, and his own countrymen, who were gathered to him out of all countries where they were dispersed, conquered his kingdom of *Scotland* again out of the *Romans* and *Picts* hands. He began his reign in the year of the world, 4374. In the year of Christ, 404. He was a wise, valiant and good King. He was slain by the *Romans* in the 16*th* year of his reign.

41. *Eugenius* the second, son of *Fergus* the second, succeeded to his father in the year of the world, 4390. In the year of Christ, 420. He was a valiant and a good Prince. He subdued the *Britons*, and died in the 32*d* year of his reign.

42. *Dongardus* succeeded to his brother *Eugenius* the second, in the year of the world, 4421. In the year of Christ, 457. A godly, wise and valiant Prince. He died in the 5*th* year of his reign.

43. *Constantine* the first, succeeded to his brothar *Dongardus*, in the year of the world, 4427. In the year of Christ, 457. A wicked

ed Prince. He was slain by a noble man in the Iles, whose daughter he had defiled, in the 22*d* year of his reign.

44. *Congallus* the first, son of *Dongardus*, began to reign in the year of the world, 4449. In the year of Christ, 479. A good and quiet Prince. He died in peace in the 22*d* year of his reign.

45. *Goranus*, or *Conranus* succeeded to his brother *Congallus* the first, in the year of the world, 4471. In the year of Christ, 501. A good and wise Prince. He died in the 34*th* year of his reign.

46. *Eugenius* the third *Congallus* son, succeeded to his father and uncle, in the year of the world, 4505. In the year of Christ, 535. A wise King and a good justiciar. He died in the 23*d* year of his reign.

47. *Congallus* the second, or *Convallus*, succeeded to his brother *Eugenius* the third, in the year of the world, 4528. In the year of Christ, 558. A very good Prince. He died in peace in the 11th year of his reign.

48. *Kinnatillas* succeeded to his brother *Congallus* the second, in the year of the world, 4539. In the year of Christ, 569. A good Prince. He died in the 1*st* year of his reign.

49. *Aidanus*, son of *Goranus*, the forty fifth King, began to reign in the year of the world, 4540. In the year of Christ, 570.

A godly and good Prince. He died in the 35*th* year of his reign.

50. *Kenethus* the first, surnamed *Keir*, *Congallus* the second his son, began to reign in the year of the world, 4575. In the year of Christ, 605. A peaceable Prince. He died in the 1*st* year of his reign.

51. *Eugenius* the fourth, son of *Aidanus*, began to reign in the year of the world, 4576. In the year of Christ, 606. A valiant and a good King. He died in the 16*th* year of his reign.

52. *Ferquhard*, or *Ferchard* the first, succeeded to his father *Eugenius* the fourth, in the year of the world, 4591. In the year of Christ, 621. A bloody tyrant. He slew himself in the prison whereinto he was put by the nobles of his realm, in the 12*th* year of his reign.

53. *Donald* the fourth, succeeded to his brother *Ferquhard* the first, in the year of the world, 4602. In the year of Christ, 632. He was a good and religious King. He was drowned in the water of *Tay*, while he was fishing, in the 14*th* year of his reign.

54. *Ferquhard*, or *Ferchard* the second, succeeded to his brother *Donald* the fourth, in the year of the world, 4616. In the year of Christ, 646. A very wicked man. He was bitten by a Woolf in hunting; of of the which ensued a Fever, whereof he died in the 18*th* year of his reign.

55. *Mal-*

55. *Malduin*, ſon to *Donald* the fourth, began to reign in the year of the world, 4634. In the year of Chriſt, 664. A good Prince, ſtrangled by his wife, who ſuſpected him of adultery in the 20*th* year of his reign. She was therefore burned.

56. *Eugenius* the fifth, *Malduine* his brother's ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 4654. In the year of Chriſt, 684. A falſe Prince, ſlain by the *Picts* in battel, in the 4*th* year of his reign.

57. *Eugenius* the ſixth, ſon to *Ferquhard* the ſecond, began to reign in the year of the world, 4658. In the year of Chriſt, 688. A good Prince. He died in peace in the 10*th* year of his reign.

58. *Ambirkelethus*, ſon of *Findanus*, ſon of *Eugenius* the fifth, began to reign in the year of the world, 4667. In the year of Chriſt, 697. He was a vicious Prince, and was ſlain by the ſhot of an arrow, in the 2*d* year of his reign. The ſhooter thereof is unknown or ſet out in hiſtory.

59. *Eugenius* the ſeventh ſucceeded to his brother *Ambirkelethus*, in the year of the world, 4669. In the year of Chriſt, 699. He died in peace in the 17*th* year of his reign. A good Prince.

60. *Mordacus*, *Ambirkelethus* ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 4685. In the year of Chriſt, 715. A good Prince. He died in the 16*th* year of his reign.

61. *Et-*

61. *Etfinus*, *Eugenius* the ſeventh his ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 4700. In the year of Chriſt, 730. He died in peace in the 31*ſt* year of his reign.

62. *Eugenius* the eight, *Mordacus* ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 4731. In the year of Chriſt, 761. A good Prince in the beginning of his reign; and then after, degenerating from of his good life, he was ſlain by his nobles, in the 3*d* year of his reign.

63. *Fergus* the third, *Etfinus* ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 4734. In the year of Chriſt, 764. A lecherous Prince, poiſoned by his wife, in the 3*d* year of his reign.

Solvathius, *Eugenius* the eight his ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 4737. In the year of Chriſt, 767. A good Prince. He died in peace in the 20*th* year of his reign.

65. *Achaius*, *Etfinus* ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 4757. In the year of Chriſt, 787. A peaceable, good and godly Prince. He made a league with *Charles* the Great, Emperour and King of *France*, which remaineth inviolably kept to this day. He died in the 32*d* year of his reign.

66. *Congallus*, or *Convallus*, *Achaius* father's brother's ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 4789. In the year of Chriſt

Chriſt, 819. A good Prince. He died in the *5th* year of his reign.

67. *Dongallus*, *Solvathius* ſon, ſucceeded in the year of the world, 4794. In the year of Chriſt, 824. A valiant and good Prince. He was drowned, coming over the river *Spey*, to war againſt the *Picts*, in the *7th* year of his reign.

68. *Alpinus*, *Achaius* ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 4801. In the year of Chriſt, 831. A good Prince. He was taken in battel, and beheaded by the *Picts*, in the *3d* year of his reign.

69. *Kenneth* the ſecond, ſurnamed the *Great*, ſucceeded to his father *Alpinus*, in the year of the world, 4804. In the year of Chriſt, 834. A good and valiant Prince. He utterly overthrew the *Picts* in divers battels, expelled them out of the land, and joined the kingdom of the *Picts* to the crown of *Scotland*. He died in peace, in the *20th* year of his reign.

70. *Donald* the fifth, ſucceeded to his brother *Kenneth* the ſecond, in the year of the world, 4824. In the year of Chriſt, 854. A wicked Prince. He ſlew himſelf in the *5th* year of his reign.

71. *Conſtantine* the ſecond, ſon of *Kenneth*, the ſecond, began to reign in the year of the world, 4829. In the year of Chriſt, 859. A valiant Prince. He was ſlain by the

the *Danes* in a battle, ſtricken at *Carrail* in *Fife*, in the 16*th* year of his reign.

72. *Ethus*, ſurnamed *Alipes*, the ſon of *Conſtantine* the ſecond, ſucceeded to his father in the year of the world, 4844. In the year of Chriſt 874. A vitious Prince. He was impriſon'd by his nobles, where he dy'd in the 2*d* year of his reign.

73. *Gregory*, ſurnamed the *Great*, ſon of *Dongallus* the ſecond, began to reign in the year of the world, 4846. In the year of Chriſt, 876. A Prince valiant, victorious and renowned thro' the world in his time. He dy'd in peace in the 18*th* year of his reign.

74. *Donald* the ſixth, ſon of *Conſtantine* the ſecond, began to reign in the year of the world, 4863. In the year of Chriſt 893. A valiant Prince. He dy'd in peace, being loved of his ſubjects, in the 11*th* year of his reign.

75. *Conſtantine* the third, ſon of *Ethus*, ſurnamed *Alipes*, began to reign in the year of the world, 4874. In the year of Chriſt, 904. He was a valiant King, yet he proſper'd not in his wars againſt *England*, and therefore being weary of his life, he became a Monk, and dy'd after he had reign'd 40 years as King.

76. *Malcolme* the firſt, ſon of *Donald* the ſixth, began to reign in the Year of the world, 4913. In the year of Chriſt, 943.

A valiant Prince, and a good juſticiar, or Executor of juſtice. He was ſlain in *Murry*, by a conſpiracy of his own ſubjects, in the *9th* year of his reign.

77. *Indulfus*, ſon of *Conſtantine* the third, began to reign in the year of the world, 4922. In the year of Chriſt, 952. A valiant and good Prince. He had many battels with the *Danes*, whom he overcame; but in the end he was ſlain by them in a ſtratagem of war, in the *9th* year of his reign.

78. *Duffus*, the ſon of *Malcolm* the firſt, began to reign in the year of the world, 4931. In the year of Chriſt, 961. A good Prince, and a ſevere juſticiar, or executor of juſtice. He was ſlain by one *Donald* at *Forres* in *Murray*, and was buried ſecretly under the bridge of a river beſide *Kinloſs*; but the matter was revealed, and the murderer and his wife that conſented thereto, ſeverely puniſhed. He reined 5 years.

79. *Culenus*, *Indulfus* ſon, began to reign in the year of the world, 4936. In the year of Chriſt, 966. A vicious and effeminate Prince. He was ſlain at *Methuen*, by *Radardus*, a noble man (whoſe daughter he had defiled) in the *4th* year of his reign.

80. *Kenneth* the third, *Duffus* brother, began to reign in the year of the world, 4940. In the year of Chriſt, 970. A valiant and a wiſe Prince; but in the end became

came cruel, and slew *Malcolme* his brother's son; and in God's judgment, who suffereth not innocent blood to be unpunished, he was slain, as some say, by a shaft or arrow, shot by a device or sleight, out of an image fixed in a wall, at *Fetticarne*, by the means of a noble woman there, called *Fenella*, in the 24*th* year of his reign.

81. *Constantine* the fourth, surnamed *Calvus*, *Culenus* son, began to reign in the year of the world, 4964. In the year of Christ, 994. An usurper of the crown. He was slain in battel, at the town of *Crawmond* in *Louthian*, in the 2*d* year of his reign.

82. *Grimus*, *Duffus* son began to reign in the year of the world, 4966. In the year of Christ, 996 A vicious Prince. He was slain in battel by *Malcolme* the second, his successor, in the 8*th* year of his reign.

83. *Malcolme* the second, son of *Kenneth* the third, began to reign in the year of the world, 4974. In the year of Christ, 1004. A valiant and a wise Prince, who made many good laws, of the which a few are yet extant. He was slain by a conspiracy of his nobles at the castle of *Glammes*, who after the slaughter, thinking to escape, were drowned in the water of *Forfar*: For it being winter, and the water frozen and covered with snow, the Ice brake, and they fell in, in the righteous judgment of God. He reigned 30 years. Some write,

that

that after a great victory in battel, he did give much of his lands to his nobles, and they agreed that he ſhould therefore have the wardſhip and cuſtody of their heirs, as long as they were under the age of 21 years, and the profits of all their lands, over and above their charges for education, and the diſpoſing of them in marriage, and the money that ſhould be given for their marriage: And that he firſt did give unto his nobles ſundry ſeveral titles of honour. Which wardſhips, marriages, times of full age, and reliefes, and manner of liveries of their lands out of the Kings hands, be in *Scotland*, very much agreeing to the laws of *England*, as many other parts of the laws do.

84. *Duncane* the firſt, ſon of *Beatrix*, daughter of *Malcolme* the ſecond, began to reign in the year of the world, 5004. In the year of Chriſt, 1034. A good and a modeſt Prince. He was ſlain by *Macbeth* traiterouſly, in the *6th* year of his reign.

85. *Macbeth*, ſon of *Douada*, daughter of *Malcolme* the ſecond, began to reign in the year of the world, 5010. In the year of Chriſt, 1040. In the beginning of his reign he behaved himſelf as a good and juſt Prince, but after, he degenerated into a cruel tyrant. He was ſlain in battel by his ſucceſſour *Malcolme* the third, in the *17th* year of his reign.

86. *Malcolme* the third, ſurnamed *Cammoir*, ſon of *Duncane* the firſt, began to

reign in the year of the World, 5027. in the year of Christ, 1357. a very religious and valiant Prince. He married *Margaret*, daughter to *Edward* surnamed the *Outlaw*, son to *Edward* surnamed *Ironside*, King of *England*, a very good and religious woman, according to those times, who bare unto him six sons and two daughters. The sons were *Edward* the Prince, *Edmond*, *Etheldred*, *Edgar*, *Alexander*, and *David*: The daughters were *Mathildis* or *Maud*, surnamed *Bona*, wife to *Henry* the first, surnamed *Beauclearke*, King of *England*, the son of *William* the Conqueror of *England*; of her virtues there is extant this old epigram:

Prospera non lætam fecêre, nec aspera tristem;
Prospera terror ei, aspera risus erant:
Non decor effecit fragilem, non sceptra superbam;
Sôla potens humilis, sola pudica decens.

That is,

Prosperity rejoiced her not, to her, grief was no pain;
Prosperity affraied her alas, affliction was her gain:
Her beauty was no cause of fall, in royal state not proud;
Humble alone in dignity, in beauty only good.

She founded the Church of *Carleill*. The other daughter was *Mary*, wife to *Eustathius* Earl of *Boloigne*. King *Malcolme* builded the Churches of *Durehame* and *Dumfermeline*. He was slain with his son the Prince *Edward*, in the 36th year of his reign, at the besieging of *Anwicke*, by *Robert Mowbray*, surnamed *Pearce-eie*, and was buried

at

at *Tinmouth*; but after, he was removed to *Dumfermeline*.

87. *Donal* the seventh, surnamed *Bane*, usurped the crown after the death of his brother, in the year of the World, 5063. in the year of Christ, 1093. and was expelled in the first year of his reign, by *Duncane* the second, the bastard son of King *Malcolme* the third.

88. *Duncane* the second usurped the crown in the year of the World, 5064. in the year of Christ, 1094. a rash and foolish Prince. He was slain by *Makpendir*, the Thane or Earl of the *Meirnes*, when he had reigned little over a year, by the procurement of *Donald* the seventh.

Donald the seventh, made King again in the year of the World, 5065. in the year of Christ, 1095. and reigned three years. He gave the West and North Isles to the King of *Norway*, for to assist him to attain to the crown of *Scotland*. He was taken captive by *Edgar*, his eyes put out, and died miserably in prison.

89. *Edgar*, the son of *Malcolme* the third, began to reign in the year of the World, 5068. in the year of Christ, 1098. He builded the Priory of *Coldingham*. He was a good Prince. He died at *Dundee* without succession, and was buried at *Dumfermeline*, in the 9th year of his reign.

90. *Alexander* the first, surnamed *Fearce*,

ſucceeded to his brother, in the year of the World, 5077. in the year of Chriſt, 1107. a very good and valiant Prince. He builded the Abbacies of *Scone* and of Saint *Colmes-Inch*. He married *Sybilla*, daughter to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, &c. He died in peace, without ſucceſſion, at *Striviling*, in the 17th year of his reign, and was buried at *Dumfermeline*.

91. *David* the firſt, commonly called S. *David*, the youngeſt ſon of King *Malcolme* the third, ſucceeded to his brother in the year of the World, 5094. in the year of Chriſt, 1124. a good, valiant and religious Prince, according to thoſe times. He builded many Abbacies, as, *Halyrude-houſe*, *Kelſo*, *Jedburgh*, *Dun-dranan*, *Cambuſ-kenneth*, *Kin-loſſe*, *Mel-roſſe*, *New-bottle*, *Dumfermeline*, *Holme* in *Cumberland*, and two religious places at *Newcaſtle* in *Northumberland*. He erected four Biſhopricks, *Roſſe*, *Brechin*, *Dumblane* and *Dunkeld*. He married *Maude*, daughter of *Woldeofus* Earl of *Northumberland* and *Huntingdon*, and of *Juditha*, daughters daughter to *William* the Conqueror, King of *England*, by whom he had one ſon named *Henry*, a worthy and good youth, who married *Adama*, daughter to *William* Earl *Warren*, who bare unto him three ſons, *Malcolme* the Maiden, *William* the Lion, and *David* Earl of *Huntingdon*; and two daughters *Adama* wife to *Florentius* Earl of *Holland*,

and

and *Margaret* wife to *Conanus* Duke of *Britain:* He died before his father. S. *David* died in peace at *Carleill*, in the 29th year of his reign, and was buried at *Dumfermeline*.

92. *Malcolme* the fourth, ſurnamed the Maiden, (becauſe he would never marry) ſucceeded to his grandfather *David* the firſt, in the year of the World, 5123. in the year of Chriſt, 1153. a good and meek Prince. He builded the Abbey of *Cowper* in *Angus*, and died at *Jedburgh*, and was buried at *Dumfermeline* in the 12th year of his reign.

93. *William*, ſurnamed the Lion, ſucceeded to his brother *Malcolme* the fourth, in the year of the World, 5135. in the year of Chriſt, 1165. a good and a valiant King. He married *Emergarda*, daughter to the Earl of *Beaumont*. He builded the Abbacy of *Aberbrothok*, and he builded the Abbacy of *Balmerinoch*. He died at *Striviling* in the 49th year of his reign, and was buried at *Aberbrothok*.

94. *Alexander* the ſecond ſucceeded to his father *William*, in the year of the World, 5184. in the year of Chriſt, 1214. a good Prince. He married *Jeane*, daughter to *John* King of *England*, by whom he had no ſucceſſion. After her death he married *Mary*, daughter to *Ingelrame*, Earl of *Coucey* in *France*, by whom he had *Alexander* the third. He died at *Kernery* in the Weſt Iſles, and was buried at *Mel-roſſe*, in the 35th year of his reign.

95. *Alexander* the third ſucceeded to his father, in the year of the World, 5219. in the year of Chriſt, 1249. a good Prince: He married firſt *Margaret*, daughter to *Henry* the third, King of *England*, by whom he had *Alexander* the Prince, who married the Earl of *Flanders* daughter, *David*, and *Margaret*, who married *Hangonanus*, or, as ſome call him, *Ericus*, ſon to *Magnus* the 4th King of *Norway*, who bare to him a daughter named *Margaret*, commonly called, *The Maiden of Norway*, in whom King *William*'s whole poſterity failed, and the crown of *Scotland* returned to the poſterity of *David* Earl of *Huntingdon*, King *Malcolme* the 4th, and King *William* his brother. After his ſons death (for they died before himſelf without ſucceſſion) in hope of poſterity, he married *Ioleta*, daughter to the Earl of *Dreux* in *France*, by whom he had no ſucceſſion. He builded the Croſs Church of *Peibles*. He died of a fall from his horſe, upon the ſands, betwixt Eaſter and Weſter *King-horne*, in the 37th year of his reign, and was buried at *Dumfermeline*.

AFTER the death of *Alexander* the third, which was in the year of the World, 5255. in the year of Chriſt, 1285. there were ſix Regents appointed to rule *Scotland*: For the South-ſide of *Forth* were appointed *Robert* the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, *John Cummin*, and *John* the Great Steward of *Scotland*: For the North-ſide of *Forth*, *Mak-duffe* Earl of *Fife*,

Fife, *John Cummin* Earl of *Buchan*, and *William Fraſer* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who ruled the Land about the ſpace of ſeven years, until the controverſy was decided betwixt *John Ballioll* and *Robert Bruyſe*, grandfather to *Robert Bruyſe* the King of *Scotland*, who did come of the two eldeſt daughters of *David* Earl of *Huntingdon*; for *Henry Haſtings*, who married the youngeſt daughter, put not in his ſuit or claim with the reſt, and therefore there is little ſpoken of him.

96. *John Ballioll* was preferred before *Robert Bruyſe* to be King of *Scotland*, by *Edward* the 1ſt, ſurnamed *Longſhanks*, King of *England*, who was choſen to be the Judge of the controverſy; which preferment was upon a condition, that *John Ballioll* ſhould acknowledge King *Edward* the 1ſt as ſuperior; which condition, like an unworthy man, he received. He began his reign in the year of the World, 5263. in the year of Chriſt, 1293. He was a vain-glorious man, little reſpecting the weal or commonwealth of his Country. He had not reigned fully four years, when he was expelled by the ſaid *Edward* the 1ſt, King of *England*; and leaving *Scotland*, he departed into the parts of *France*, where he died long after in exile: And ſo *Scotland* was without a King and Government the ſpace of nine years; during which ſpace, the ſaid *Edward* the 1ſt, ſurnamed *Longſhanks*, cruelly oppreſſed the land, deſtroyed the whole ancient

monuments of the Kingdom, and shed much innocent blood.

97. *Robert Bruyse* began to reign in the year of the World, 5276. in the year of Christ, 1306. a valiant, good and wise King. In the beginning of his reign, he was subject to great misery and affliction, being oppressed by *England*; but at length, having overcome and vanquished *Edward* the 2d, King of *England*, commonly called *Edward* of *Carnarvan*, at the field of *Bannock-burne*, he delivered *Scotland* from the wars of *England*, and set it at full liberty, all *Englishmen* by force being expelled out of the Land. He married first *Isabel*, daughter to the Earl of *Mar*, who bare unto him *Mariory*, the wife of *Walter*, the Great Steward of *Scotland*; from whom, and the offspring of the *Stewards*, the King now ruling is descended. After her death, he married *Isabel*, daughter to *Haymerus de Burc*, Earl of *Hultonia* or *Hulster* in *Ireland*, who bare unto him *David* the 2d, *Margaret* the Countess of *Sutherland*, and *Maude* that died young. He died at *Cardros*, and was buried at *Dumfermeline*, in the 24th year of his reign.

98. *David* the second succeeded to his father *Robert Bruyse*, in the year of the World, 5300. in the year of Christ, 1330, a good Prince, subject to much affliction in his youth, being first after the death of *Thomas Ranulph* his Regent, forced to fly into *France* for his

own ſafeguard, and then returning home, was taken at the battel of *Durham*, and was holden 12 years almoſt captive in *England*; but after, he was reſtored to his liberty He married firſt *Jeane*, daughter to *Edward* the 2d, King of *England*; and after her death, he married *Magaret Logie*, daughter to Sir *John Logie*, Knt. and died without ſucceſſion at *Edinburgh*, in the 40th year of his reign, and was buried at *Halyrude-houſe*.

99. *Edward Ballioll*, ſon to *John Ballioll*, uſurped the Crown of *Scotland*, being aſſiſted by *Edward* the 3d, King of *England*, in the year of the World, 5302 in the year of Chriſt, 1332. But he was expelled at length by *David* the 2d his Regent, and *David* the 2d eſtabliſhed King.

100. *Robert* the 2d, ſurnamed *Bleare-eye*, the firſt of the *Stewards*, ſon to *Walter Steward*, and *Margery Bruyſe*, daughter to King *Robert Bruyſe*, ſucceeded to his mother's brother, in the year of the World, 5341. in the year of Chriſt, 1371. a good and a peaceable Prince. He married firſt *Eufeme*, daughter to *Hugh* Earl of *Roſſe*, who bare unto him *David* Earl of *Strathern*, *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, and *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*, Lord *Badzenoth*. After her death, for the affection he bare to his children begotten before his firſt marriage, he married *Elizabeth Mure*, daughter to Sir *Adam Mure*, Knt who had born unto him *John*, after called *Robert* the

3d,

3d, Earl of *Carrict*, *Robert* Earl of *Fife* and *Menteith*, and *Eufeme*, wife to *James* Earl of *Dowglas*. He died at *Dun-donald* the 19th year of his reign, and was buried at *Scone*.

101. *Robert* the 3d, surnamed *John Farnezeir*, succeeded to his father, in the year of the World, 5360. in the year of Christ, 1390. a quiet and a peaceable Prince. He married *Anabel Drummond*, daughter to the Laird of *Stobhall*, who bare unto him *David* the Prince, D. of *Rothesay*, that died in prison of very extream famine at *Falkland*, and *James* the 1st, taken captive in his voyage to *France*, and detained a captive almost the space of 18 years in *England*. He died of grief and sorrow at *Rothesay*, when he heard of the death of the one son, and captivity of the other, and was buried at *Paisly*, in the 16th year of his reign.

Robert Earl of *Fife* and *Menteith* governed *Scotland*, in the year of the World, 5376. in the year of Christ, 1406. He died in the 14th year of his Government, *James* the 1st being a captive in *England*.

Murdo Steward succeed to his father *Robert* Earl of *Fife*, in the Government of *Scotland*, in the year of the World, 5390. in the year of Christ, 1420. and ruled 4 years, *James* the 1st being yet a captive in *England*. Both the father and the son *Walter* were executed after, for oppression of the subjects, by King *James* the 1st.

102. *James* the first began to reign in the year of the World, 5394. in the year of Christ, 1424. He was a good, learned, vertuous and just Prince. He married *Jeane*, daughter to *John* Duke of *Somerset* and Marquis *Dorset*, son to *John* of *Gaunt*, son to *Edward* the 3d, the victorious King of *England*; who bare unto him *James* the 2d, and six daughters, *Margaret*, wife to *Lewis* the 11th, the *Dauphine*, after King of *France*, *Elizabeth*, Dutchess of *Britain*, *Jeane*, Countess of *Huntly*, *Eleanor*, Dutchess of *Austria*, *Mary*, wife to the L. of *Camp-veere*, and *Anabella*. He was slain at *Perth* traiterously by *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, and *Robert Graham*, and their Confederates, in the 31st year of his reign, if we count from the death of his father; and in the 13th year, if we count from his deliverance out of *England*; and was buried at the Charter-house of *Perth*, which he builded.

103. *James* the 2d succeeded to his father, in the year of the World, 5407. in the year of Christ, 1437. a Prince subject to great troubles in his youth. He married *Mary*, daughter to *Arnold*, Duke of *Geldre*, daughter to the sister of *Charles* surnamed *Audax*, the last Duke of *Burgundy*, &c. who bare unto him three sons, *James* the 3d, *John* Earl of *Mar*, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, and *Mary*, wife first to *Thomas Boyd* Earl of *Arran*, and after his beheading to *James Hamilton*

milton of *Cadzou*. He was slain at the siege of *Roxburgh* in the 24th year of his reign.

104. *James* the 3d succeeded to his father, in the year of the World, 5430. in the year of Christ, 1460. a Prince corrupted by wicked courtiers. He married *Margaret*, daughter to *Christianus* the 1st, surnamed *Dives*, King of *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Sueden*. He was slain at the field of *Bannock-burne*, in the 29th year of his reign, and was buried at *Cambus-kenneth*.

105. *James* the 4th succeeded to his father, in the year of the World, 5459. in the year of Christ, 1489. a noble and couragious Prince. He married *Margaret*, eldest daughter to *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, King of *England*, and of *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Edward* the 4th, King of *England*, in whose two persons the two houses of *Lancaster* and *York* were united, and the bloody civil wars of *England* pacified. He was slain at *Flowdon* by *England*, in the 25th year of his reign.

106. *James* the 5th succeeded to his father, in the year of the World, 5484. in the year of Christ, 1514. a just Prince and severe. He married first *Magdalen*, daughter to *Francis* the 1st, King of *France*, who died shortly thereafter without succession. After, he married *Mary* of *Lorayne*, Dutchess of *Longevile*, daughter to *Claude*, Duke of *Guise*, who bare to him two sons, that died in his life-time, and one daughter, named *Mary*, mother to King *James* the 6th. He died at *Falkland*,

in

in the 29th year of his reign. He was buried at *Halyrude-house*.

107. *Mary* succeeded to her father *James* the 5th, Anno Mundi, 5513. Anno Christi, 1543. a vertuous princess. She married first *Francis* 2d. *Dolphin*, after King of *France*: then after his death, returning home into *Scotland*, she married *H. Stewart* Duke of *Albany*, &c. Lord *Darley*, son to *Matthew*, Earl of *Lennox* (a comely Prince, *Pronepnoy*'s son, the daughters daughter of *Henry* the 7th, King of *England*) to whom she did bear *James* the 6th. She was put to death in *England* the 8th of *February*, after 18 years captivity.

108. *James* the 6th, a good, godly, and learned Prince, succeeded to his Mother, in the year of the World, 5537. in the year of Christ, 1567. He married *Anna*, daughter to *Frederick* the 2d, King of *Denmark*; and *Sophia*, daughter of *Ulricus* Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, who hath born unto him already *Henry Frederick* the Prince, *Feb.* 19, 1593. and *Elizabeth*, *Aug.* 19, 1596. and *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, *Nov.* 19, 1600. And upon the death of Q. *Elizabeth* he succeeded to the Crown of *England*, and was crowned King at *Westminster*, *July* 25, 1604. He had also by his wife Q. *Anna* two other daughters born in *England*, Lady *Mary* and Lady *Sophia*, who both died young. Prince *Henry* died *Nov.* 6, 1612. Lady *Elizabeth* was married

ried to *Frederick* the 5th of that name, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, afterwards elected King of *Bohemia*, by whom she had many children. King *James* died at his Palace at *Theobalds* in *England*, *March* 27, 1625. when he had reigned 22 years over *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and was buried with great Solemnity at *Westminster*.

Mira cano: Sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.

The Form of the OATH of a Duke, Earl, Lord of Parliament, and Knight of *SCOTLAND*.

The Oath of a Duke.

YE shall fortify and defend the true and Christian Religion, and Christ's holy Evangel, presently preached in this Realm; and shall be leill and true to our Sovereign Lord, the King's Majesty; and shall defend his highness, realm and lieges, from all alieners and strangers, at the uttermost of your power: So help you God, and by the oath that ye have else made.

The Oath of an Earl.

YE shall fortify and defend the true and Christian Religion, and Christ's holy Evangel, presently preached in this Realm; and

and ſhall be leill and true to our Sovereign Lord the King's Majeſty; and ſhall defend his highneſs, realms and lieges, from all alieners and ſtrangers, at the uttermoſt of your power: So help you God, and by the oath that ye have elſe made.

The Oath of a Lord of Parliament.

YE ſhall give due and faithful counſel to our Sovereign Lord, the King's Majeſty's weal, publickly in Parliament, as in all other places needful, and ſecretly according to your knowledge, for the preſervation of his realm, and common weal thereof; and ſhall never hide nor conceal any point of treaſon, or crime of *Leiſmajeſte*, that ſhall appear to be conſpired againſt his ſaid royal perſon, but ſhall incontinent with all poſſible diligence reveal the ſame: So help you God, and by the oath that ye have elſe made.

The Oath of a Knight.

1. I Shall fortify and defend the Chriſtian Religion, and Chriſt's holy Evangel, preſently preached in this realm, to the uttermoſt of my power.

2. I ſhall be loyal and true to my Sovereign Lord, the King's Majeſty, to all orders of Chievalry, and to the noble office of Arms.

3. I ſhall fortify and defend Juſtice at my power, and that without favour or feud.

4. I

4. I ſhall never fly from my Sovereign Lord the King's Majeſty, nor from his Highneſs's Lieutenants, in time of mellay and battel.

5. I ſhall defend my native Realm from all alieners and ſtrangers.

6. I ſhall defend the juſt action and quarrel of all Ladies of Honour, of all true and friendleſs Widows, of Orphelings, and of Maidens of good fame.

7. I ſhall do diligence whereſoever I hear there are any murtherers, traytors, or maſterful reavers, that oppreſs the King's lieges, and peure people, to bring them to the law at my power.

8. I ſhall maintain and uphold the noble eſtate of Chivalry, with horſe, harneſs, and other knightly habiliments; and ſhall help and ſuccour them of the ſame order at my power, if they have need.

9. I ſhall enquire and ſeek to have the knowledge and underſtanding of all the articles and points contained in the book of Chivalry.

All theſe premiſes to obſerve, keep, and fulfil, I obleſs me: So help me, God, by mine own hand, ſo help me God, *&c.*

F I N I S.

A BRIEF

JOURNAL

Of what passed in the CITY of

MARSEILLES,

While it was Afflicted with the

PLAGUE,

In the YEAR 1720.

Extracted from the REGISTER of the *Council-Chamber* of the *Town-House*, kept by Monsieur PICHATTY DE CROISSAINTE, Counsellor and Orator of that City, and the King's Attorney in Affairs relating to the good Government of it.

Translated from the ORIGINAL, Published at PARIS, *with the King's Privilege.*

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A JOURNAL

Of what paſſed in the CITY of

MARSEILLES,

While it was Affected with the

PLAGUE,

In the YEAR 1720.

ABSTRACT of the French *King's Privilege, for the printing and publiſhing of this Journal.*

LEWIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarre*. To our beloved and faithful Counſellors holding our Court of Parliament of *Paris*, and to all others whom it may Concern: Greeting. Our well beloved *Nicholas Carré* of *Paris*, having repreſented to us, that a Manuſcript has been put into his Hands, intitled, *A Brief Journal of what paſſed in the City of* Marſeilles *while it was afflicted with the Plague*; and moſt humbly beſought us to grant him our Letters of Privilege, for the ſole printing and vending thereof throughout our Dominions.—— We being willing to treat the Petitioner favourably, and to acknowledge his Zeal for the Good and Benefit of the Publick, do by theſe Preſents grant to him and his Aſſigns, the ſole Liberty of printing and publiſhing the ſaid Book, for the term of ſix Years from the Date hereof:— Forbidding all other Perſons to print or counterfeit the ſame, on the Penalty of Confiſcation of ſuch Copies, and of a Fine of three thouſand Livres, to be paid by every Offender. Done at *Paris*, the 17th of *July* in the ſixth Year of our Reign. By the King in Council.

CARPOT.

A BRIEF JOURNAL *of what passed in the City of* MARSEILLES, *while it was afflicted with the Plague in* 1720.

THE Coasts of the *Levant* being always suspected of the Plague, all Ships which come from thence for *Marseilles* stop at the Islands of *Chateaudif*; and the Intendants of Health regulate the Time and Manner of their Quarantaines, and of purifying their Cargoes, by the Tenor of their Patents (or Bills of Health), and by the State of Health of the particular Places from whence they come.

The Beginning of *May*, 1720. we had Advice at *Marseilles*, that from the Month of *March* the Plague was rife in most of the Maritime Towns or trading Ports of *Palestine* and *Syria*.

The 25th of the ſaid Month of *May*, the Ship commanded by Captain *Chataud*, which came from thence, that is to ſay, from *Sidon*, *Tripoli*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*, arrives at the ſaid Iſlands; but his Patents are clean (*i. e.* his Certificates imported there was no Contagion at thoſe Places,) becauſe he came away the 31ſt of *January*, before the Plague was there. He declares, however, to the Intendants of Health, that in his Voyage, or at *Leghorn* where he touched, Six Men of his Crew died, but he ſhews by the Certificate of the Phyſicians of Health at *Leghorn*, that they died only of Malignant Fevers, cauſed by unwholſome Proviſions.

The 27th of *May*, one of his Sailors dies in his Ship.

The 28th, the Intendants cauſe the Corpſe to be carried into the Infirmary; *Guerard*, chief Surgeon of Health, views it; and makes Report, that it has not any Mark of Contagion.

The 29th, the Intendants ſettle the purifying of the Goods of this Cargo, to Forty Days compleat, to be reckoned from the Day the laſt Bale ſhall be carried from it into the Infirmaries.

The laſt of *May*, Three other Veſſels arrive at the ſame Iſlands: *viz.* Two ſmall Veſſels of Captain *Aillaud*'s from *Sidon*, whence they came ſince the Plague was there; and Captain *Fouque*'s Bark from *Scanderoon*.

The 12th of *June*, Captain *Gabriel*'s Ship arrives there likewiſe from the ſame Places, with a foul Patent; (*i. e.* importing, that the Plague was there.)

The ſame Day the Officer, whom the Intendants had put on Board Captain *Chataud*'s Ship to ſee Quarantain duly performed, dies there; *Guerard* chief Surgeon of Health views the Body, and makes Report that it has not any Mark of Contagion.

The 14th of *June*, the Paſſengers who came in the ſaid Ship, are perfumed for the laſt Time in the Infirmaries; and are allowed to enter the City as uſual.

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The 23d, being the Eve of St. *John Baptiſt*, the Grand Prior arrives at *Genoa* with the King's Gallies; the Sheriffs have the Honour to welcome him, and I to make a Speech to him in the Name of the City.

The ſame Day a Cabbin-Boy of Captain *Chataud*'s Ship, a Servant employed at the Infirmaries in purifying the Goods of that Ship, and another who was purifying thoſe of Captain *Gabriel*'s Ship, fall ſick; the ſame Surgeon makes Report that they have not any Mark of Contagion.

The 24th, another Servant employed to purify Captain *Aillaud*'s Goods, falls ſick likewiſe; is viſited, and the ſame Report made.

The 24th, and 26th, all Four dye one after another; their Bodies are viewed, and Report made that they have not any Mark of Contagion.

Notwithſtanding the Reports thus made, the Intendants conſult and reſolve by way of Precaution to cauſe all theſe Bodies to be buried in Lime; to remove from the Iſland of *Pomegué* the Ships of the Captains *Chataud*, *Aillaud*, and *Gabriel*, and ſend them to a diſtant Iſland called *Jarre*, there to begin again their Quarantain; and to incloſe the Yard where their Goods are purifying in the Infirmaries, without ſuffering the Servants employed to air them, to ome out.

The 28th of *June*, another Veſſel, being Captain *Gueymart*'s Bark, from *Sidon*, arrives at the foreſaid Iſlands with a foul Patent.

The 1ſt of *July*, the Intendants paſs a Reſolution, to cauſe all the Veſſels which were come with foul Patents, to Anchor at a good Diſtance off the Iſland of *Pomegué*.

The 7th of *July*, two more Servants ſhut up to purify in the Infirmaries the Goods brought by Captain *Chataud*, fall ſick; the Surgeon finds Tumours in their Groyns, and ſays in his Report that he does not believe however it is the Plague: He pays for his Incredulity, perhaps for not right underſtanding the Diſtemper, by dying himſelf ſoon after, with part of his Family.

The 8th, another Servant falls ſick; the Surgeon finds a Swelling in the upper Part of the Thigh, and then declares he takes it to be a Mark of Contagion, and deſires a Conſultation.

Immediately the Intendants call three other Maſter Surgeons to viſit the ſaid Servants; their Report is, that they have all certainly the Plague.

The 9th thoſe Patients dye, they are buried in Lime, and all their Apparel is burnt.

The Intendants reſolve to cauſe all the Goods of Captain *Chataud*'s Cargoe, to be taken out of the Infirmaries, and ſent to be purified on the Iſland of *Jarre*; and they repair to the Town-Houſe to acquaint the Sheriffs with what has paſſed.

The Matter appearing to be of Conſequence, they write about it to the Council of Marine, and to the Marſhal Duke *de Villars*, Governor of *Provence*; and *M. Eſtelle*, one of the chief Sheriffs, with two Intendants of Health, are deputed to go to *Aix* to give an Account of it to M. *Lebret*, firſt Preſident of the Parliament and Intendant of Juſtice and of Commerce.

The ſame Day, M. *Peiſſonel*, and his Son, Phyſicians, come to the Town-Houſe, to give Notice to the Sheriffs, that having been called to a Houſe in the Square of *Linche*, to viſit a young Man named *Eiſſalene*, he appeared to them to have the Plague.

That Inſtant, Guards are ſent to the Door of that Houſe, to hinder any one from coming out of it.

The 10th of *July* that Patient dies, and his Siſter falls ſick; the Guard is doubled; and it being judged proper to carry both off; to do it the more quietly, and without alarming the People, it is delayed till Night; when at Eleven a Clock M. *Mouſtier*, another of the chief Sheriffs, repairs thither without Noiſe, ſends for Servants from the Infirmaries, encourages them to go up into the Houſe, and they having brought down the Dead and the Sick, he orders them to carry them in Litters without the Town to the Infirmaries, cauſes all Perſons belonging to the Houſe to be conducted thither likewiſe, accompanies them himſelf with Guards,

Guards, that none might come near them, and then returns to ſee the Door of the Houſe cloſed up with Mortar.

The 11th Notice is given, that one *Boyal* is fallen ſick in the ſame Quarter of the Town, Phyſicians and Surgeons are ſent to viſit him; they declare he has the Plague, his Houſe is inſtantly ſecured by Guards, and when Night is come M. *Mouſtier* goes thither, ſends for the Buriers of the Dead from the Infirmaries, and finding the Patient was newly dead, cauſes them to take the Corpſe, accompanies it, ſees it interred in Lime, and then returns to remove all the Perſons of that Houſe to the Infirmaries, and the Door to be cloſed up.

The 12th all this is told to the Grand Prior, who ſtill remains at *Marſeilles*; the firſt Preſident is writ to; the Intendants of Health are aſſembled, to cauſe all the Veſſels come from the *Levant*, with foul Patents, to go back to the Iſland of *Jarre*, and all their Goods that remain in the Infirmaries to be removed thither likewiſe: M. *Audimar*, one of the Sheriffs, preſided in their Aſſembly, to influence them to paſs this Reſolution.

This, and the following Day, the Sheriffs make very ſtrict Enquiry in the Town, to diſcover all Perſons who had Communication with thoſe Dead or Sick of the Plague; the moſt ſuſpected are ſent to the Infirmaries, and the others confined to their Houſes.

The 14th, they write an Account of what has paſſed to the Council of Marine; they reſolve not to give any more Patents (or Certificates of Health) to any Veſſel, till they can be ſure the Diſtemper is over.

The 15th, leſt from this Refuſal to give Certificates of Health, it ſhould be believed in foreign Countries that the Plague is in *Marſeilles*; and leſt this ſhould entirely interrupt all Commerce, they write to the Officers Conſervators of Health at all the Ports of *Europe*, the real Fact; that is to ſay, That there are ſeveral Perſons ill of the Contagion in the Infirma-

ries,

ries, but that it has not made any Progreſs in the City.

The 21ſt of *July*, nothing of the Plague having ſince been diſcovered in the Town, they write it with Joy to the Council of Marine, and continue to provide whatever is neceſſary in the Infirmaries for the Subſiſtance of ſuſpected Perſons whom they have ſent thither, and of thoſe whom they have confined to their Houſes.

Already the Publick, recovered from their Fright, begin to explode as uſeleſs the Trouble the Sheriffs had given themſelves, and all the Precautions they had taken; 'tis pretended, the Two Perſons who died in the Square of *Linche*, were carried off by quite another Diſtemper than the Plague: The Phyſicians and Surgeons are upbraided with having by their Error allarmed the whole Town. Abundance of People are obſerved to aſſume the Character of a dauntleſs Freedom of Mind, who are ſoon after ſeen more ſtruck with Terror than any others, and to fly with more Diſorder and Precipitation; their boaſted Firmneſs quickly forſakes them. The Truth is, the Plague is to be feared and ſhunned.

The 26th of *July*, Notice is given to the Sheriffs, that in the Street of *Leſcalle*, a Part of the old Town inhabited only by poor People, Fifteen Perſons are ſuddenly fallen ſick: They diſpatch thither Phyſicians and Surgeons; they examine into the Diſtemper, and make Report; ſome, that 'tis a Malignant Fever; others, a contagious or peſtilential Fever, occaſioned by bad Food, which Want had long forced thoſe poor Creatures to live upon: Not one of them ſays poſitively it is the Plague. A Man muſt indeed have been very well aſſured of it, to ſay it; the Publick had already ſhewed a Diſpoſition to reſent any falſe Alarm.

The Sheriffs do not reſt wholly ſatisfied with this Report, but reſolve to proceed in the ſame Way of Precaution, as if thoſe Sick were actually touched with the Plague; to ſend them all without Noiſe to the

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Infirmaries; and for the preſent to confine them in their Houſes.

The 27th, Eight of thoſe Sick dye; the Sheriffs themſelves go to their Houſes to cauſe them to be ſearched; Buboes are found on Two of them: The Phyſicians and Surgeons ſtill hold the ſame Language, and impute the Cauſe of the Diſtemper to unwholſome Food. Notwithſtanding which, as ſoon as Night comes, M. *Mouſtier* repairs to the Place, ſends for Servants from the Infirmaries, makes them willingly or by Force, take up the Bodies, with all due Precautions; they are carried to the Infirmaries, where they are buried with Lime; and all the reſt of the Night he cauſes the remaining Sick, and all thoſe of their Houſes, to be removed to the Infirmaries.

The 28th, very early in the Morning, Search is made every where for thoſe who had Communication with them, in order to confine them: Other Perſons in the ſame Street fall ſick, and ſome of thoſe who firſt ſicken'd dye. At Midnight M. *Eſtelle* (who was come back from *Aix*) repairs thither; cauſes the Buriers of the Dead at the Infirmaries to attend; makes them carry off the dead Bodies, and bury them in Lime; and then till Day-break ſees all the Sick conducted to the Infirmaries.

The People who love to deceive themſelves, and will have it abſolutely not to be the Plague, urge a Hundred falſe Reaſons on that Side. Would the Plague, ſay they, attack none but ſuch poor People? Would it operate ſo ſlowly?

Let them have but a few Days Patience, and they will ſee all attacked without Diſtinction, with the ſwifteſt Rage, and the moſt dreadful Havock, that ever was heard of.

Some obſtinately contend that the Diſtemper proceeded wholly from Worms: But while they pretend to argue ſo confidently, trembling with Fear in their Hearts, they make up their Pack to be the readier to fly: What all others are doing, I leave to be imagined; every

every one has taken the Fright, and is ready to run out of the Town, to seek Refuge any where.

In the mean while, the Distemper continuing in the Street of *Lescalle*, the 29th of *July*, and 10 Days after successively, the Sheriffs are obliged to give Nightly the same Attendance, and in the Day-time to make continual Search after all those who had Communication with the Sick or Dead: People fall sick in several other Parts of the Town; they are confined in Places by themselves by Guards; some of them Dye, and every Night M. *Estelle* and *Moustier*, go by Turns to see them carried off, to remove the rest to the Infirmaries, and to fasten up or perfume Houses; Labours as dangerous as toilsome, especially when after having sat up and staid all Night in the Street, they find themselves obliged to apply all the Day after to a thousand other Things no less troublesome.

M. *Audimar* and *Dieudé*, the other Sheriffs, are fatigued on their part with continual Care and Pains, arising from the Increase of necessary Business in a Town, where the common Course of Occurrences takes up all the Time the Civil Magistrate can bestow. M. *Dieudé*, however, goes two Nights together, to accompany the Officers at removing the Dead and the Sick.

The Marquis *de Pilles*, the Governor, is perpetually co-operating with them all; he is every Day, from Morning till Night, at the Town-House, applying himself indefatigably to all that his Zeal and Prudence suggest to him; and to all that the maintaining of good Order requires on such an Occasion.

The whole Sum in *Specie* at this time in the City-Treasury, is but 1100 Livres; and 'tis manifest, that if the City come to be thoroughly infected, all must perish for Want of Money: This obliges the Sheriffs to write to the First President, to press him earnestly to be pleased to procure Money for them.

Bread-Corn being scarce, is immediately run up to an exorbitant Price; to prevent therefore its being hoarded up to make it dearer, an Ordinance is issued

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at my Instance, to forbid the hoarding it, on severe Penalties. Two other Ordinances are published at the same time, forbidding all Persons to have and keep in the Town, any thing that might contribute to the spreading of the Contagion.

The 30th of *July*, a general View and Inventory is taken of all the Provisions in the City; and the Sheriffs finding hardly any Bread-Corn, Meat, or Wood, and little Money in the Treasury to buy Stores with; all things excessively dear; Disorder increasing; the Populace as poor as frighten'd; all the Persons of Condition and the Rich already fled: They write to M. *le Pelletier des Forts*, and representing to him the deplorable Condition of *Marseilles*, beseech him to intercede with his Royal Highness to grant them some Supplies.

The 31st of *July*, another Ordinance is issued at my Instance, to oblige all strange Beggars to depart the City this Day; and those settled in the Town, to retire into the Hospital *de la Charité*, on the Penalty of being whipped.

But this Ordinance is not put in Execution, because we learn the same Day, that the Chamber of *Vacations* of the Parliament of *Aix*, on the Rumour that the Plague is in *Marseilles*, has publish'd an *Arrêt*, forbidding the *Marseillians* to stir out of the Bounds of their own Territory; the Inhabitants of all the Towns and Places of *Provence* to communicate with them, or to harbour them; and all Muleteers, Carriers, and all others, to go to *Marseilles*, for what Cause, or under what Pretext soever, on Pain of Death.

In this Condition, how could 2 or 3000 Beggars, that were then in the City, be turned out of it? Not being able to pass beyond the Limits of the Territory, they would be constrained to stay there, and to ravage it for Subsistance.

The 1*st* of *August*, M. *Sicard*, Father and Son, Physicians, come to the Town-House, to tell the Sheriffs, that it is not to be doubted the Distemper in the City is really the Plague, but that they make sure Ac-

count they ſhall put an end to it, if they will do what they ſhall preſcribe; which is to buy up a great Quantity of Wood, Bruſhes and Faggots; to lay them in Piles, at ſmall Diſtances, along the Walls of the Town, and in all publick Walks, open Places, Squares, and Markets; to oblige every private Perſon to lay a Heap of them before his Houſe, in all the Streets in general; and to ſet them all on fire at the ſame time, in the Beginning of the Night; which will moſt certainly put an End to the Plague.

Every body being willing to make this Experiment; and all the other Phyſicians, who are called daily to the Town-Houſe to give an Account of the Progreſs of the Diſtemper, not diſapproving it; the Sheriffs forthwith cauſe all the Wood, Faggots, and Bruſhes that can be found, to be bought up; and M. *Audimar* and *Dieudé* go with the utmoſt Ardour to ſee them placed along the Walls, and in the publick Walks and Places.

The 2d of *Auguſt* they publiſh an Ordinance, commanding all the Inhabitants to make each a Bonfire before his Houſe, and to light it at 9 a-Clock at Night, the Moment thoſe along the Walls and in the publick Places ſhall be lighted. This is executed: It is a magnificent Sight, to behold a Circuit of Walls, of ſo large, ſo vaſt Extent, all illuminated; and if this ſhould cure the City, it would certainly be cured in a moſt joyful and agreeable manner.

The Magiſtrates, who to ſatisfy the Publick, and to avoid all Reproach, make ſuch Experiments, cannot however ſleep upon the Succeſs promiſed from them; Prudence requires they ſhould purſue proper Meaſures, and not be with-held by vain Hopes: They write to the Firſt Preſident, and deſire him, ſince the Roads are barricaded againſt them, to be pleaſed to diſpatch for them a Courier to the Court, to repreſent their Miſery, and the Inconveniences they have ground to fear, as being without a Penny of Money, while they are in Dread of wanting every thing, and of having the Calamity of Famine ſuperadded to that of the Plague.

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They write to the Council of *Marine* likewiſe, acquainting them what Number of Sick they actually have, and how many Dead they have carried to, and buried at the Infirmaries.

The ſame Day, in the Aſſembly held daily at the Town-Houſe with the municipal Officers, and ſuch of the chief Citizens as have not yet fled, M. *de Pilles* preſiding, it was reſolved:

1. That whereas the Number of the Sick increaſes more and more, eſpecially in the Street of *Leſcalle*, a *Corps de Garde* ſhall be poſted at every Avenue of that Street, to hinder any one's going into, or coming out of it; and that Commiſſaries of Victualling ſhall be appointed to go and diſtribute Proviſions to the Families inhabiting that Street.

2. That all the Captains of the City ſhall each raiſe a Company of 50 Men of the Militia, to be paid by the City: And that however, the Five Brigades called the Brigades *du Privilege du Vin*, with their Officers, ſhall ſerve every where as a Guard to the Sheriffs in their Marches in the Night, to ſee the Dead and Sick carry'd off to the Infirmaries.

3. That the Phyſicians and Surgeons already employ'd, may be induced to ſerve with the greater Diligence, and not to demand any Fee of the Sick, they ſhall have Salaries from the City, and be allowed *Sarrots* of oiled Cloth, and Chairs, for their more eaſy Conveyance every where.

4. That ſeeing the City has no Money, and that it muſt indiſpenſibly be had, Advertiſements ſhall be publickly affixed, for taking Loans of Money at 5 *per Cent.* to try to get ſome by that means: And that the Treaſurer not being able to come to reſide at the Town-Houſe, M. *Bouys*, Firſt Clerk of the Records, ſhall be Caſhier there.

The 3d of *August*, the Marquess *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs, being reassembled with the same Citizens, appoint 150 Commissaries in the 5 Parishes of the City, to look each in the Quarter assigned him to the Wants of the Poor; to distribute to them Bread, and other Subsistance, at the Charge of the City; and to do whatever else they shall be directed for the publick Good and Welfare.

In that Part of the Town called the *Rive Neuve*, which lies beyond the Port, and extends from the Abbey of St. *Victor* to the Arsenal, the Chevalier *Rose* is appointed Captain and Commissary General.

And in the Territory, (*i. e.* the Country belonging to *Marseilles*) which is like a vast City, there being above Ten thousand Houses, called *Bastides*, in the 44 Quarters and dependent Parishes, of which it is composed, besides several pretty large Villages; one Captain and some Commissaries are appointed for each, to take the like Care.

The same Day, for preventing Communication among Children, who, as it is said, are most susceptible of the Plague, the College and all the Publick Schools are shut up.

As for the Fires advised by the Two *Sicards*, they are forborn: Notice is given, that those Two Physicians have deserted the City; besides, there is no Wood, Faggots, or Brushes, to be had; but a Quantity of Brimstone is bought up, and distributed among the Poor, in all Quarters of the Town, and the Insides of all the Houses are order'd to be perfum'd.

In the Evening, the Marquis *de Pilles* and the Sheriffs, being still assembled in the Town-House, Notice is given them, that four or five Hundred of the Populace are got together in the Quarter called *l' Aggrandissement*, and are very disorderly, crying out they will have Bread; the Bakers of that Quarter, by reason of the Scarcity of Corn, not having made the usual Quantity, so that many Persons could not be served: The Marquess *de Pilles* and M. *Moustier* hasten thither, followed by some Guards; their Presence puts a Stop to the Tumult, and they entirely appease the People, by causing some Bread to be given them.

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The 4th, the Officers of the Garison of Fort *St. John* come to the Town-House, acquaint the Sheriffs that they are in want of Bread-Corn, and desire a Supply from them; declaring, that otherwise they cannot answer that the Troops of their Garison will not come into the City, and take Corn by Force. The Sheriffs reply, that they would willingly furnish them if they had Stores sufficient; but the Want themselves are in, is so great, that they cannot do it; and if Violence should be offered to the Inhabitants, they would appear at their Head to defend them.

The same Day it being taken into Consideration, that the Arrêt issued by the Chamber of Vacations, having interdicted all Communication between the Inhabitants of the Province, and those of *Marseilles*; if Things should remain at this Pass, and no Body should bring in Corn, and other Provisions, we should soon be reduced to the Extremity of Famine, the Sheriffs resolve to have Recourse to the First President. Accordingly they send to intreat him to establish, as had been done formerly, Markets, and Barriers for Conference, at certain proper Places, whither Strangers, without being exposed to any Risque, might bring us Provisions: At the same time they write to the Procurators of the Country of *Provence*, to be pleas'd to concur therein. It is impossible, certainly, to exert more Compassion to the Miseries of an afflicted City, than they did; and particularly the Consuls of the several Towns: *Marseilles* will never forget the Services done her in this Calamity, nor the Kindness, Zeal and Readiness with which they were done.

The same Day, the Sheriffs considering the Disorders which often happen in a Time of Contagion, the Necessity of using speedy Means to suppress them, and of making Examples of Malefactors and Rebels; and that as often as this City has been visited with the Plague, as in 1580, 1630, 1649, and 1650, our Kings have constantly granted to their Predecessors in the Magistracy, by Letters Patents, the Power of judging all Crimes finally, and without Appeal; they write again to the First President, desiring him to procure for them from his Majesty the like Letters Patents.

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The 5th, they repeat their Instances to him, to get them supplied with Corn: They write likewise to the same purpose, to the Consuls of *Toulon*, and to those of all the Maritime Towns of the Coasts of *Languedoc* and *Provence*; proposing to go to receive the Corn at any Place distant from the Town which they shall chuse to land it at; and they desire those of the Town of *Martignes* to send Vessels to *Arles*, to fetch Corn from thence.

The 6th, an Ordinance is publish'd at my Instance, forbidding all Persons to remove from one House to another the Moveables and Apparel of the Sick or Dead, or to touch them, or make any use of them, on Pain of Death. Another Ordinance fixes the Rates of Victuals and necessary Commodities, to restrain the excessive Price to which, because of the Scarcity, those who would make Advantage of the Publick Misery, would raise them.

The 7th, the Chamber of Vacations having permitted the Procurators of the Country to come to a Conference with the Sheriffs, at a Place on the Road to *Aix*, call'd *Notre-Dame*, two Leagues distant from *Marseilles*; the Marques *de Vauvenargues*, first Procurator of the Country, comes thither, accompanied by several Gentlemen, and the principal Officers of the Province, attended by the Marshal de *Villars*'s Guards, and by a Brigade of Archers of the *Marshalsea*. A Town afflicted with, or suspected of the Plague, out of which even almost all the Inhabitants are ready to run, cannot make a Figure, conformable to such Honour. M. *Estelle*, one of the chief Sheriffs, goes to the Place, without Retinue, without Attendants, and without any Guard, accompanied only by M. *Capus*, Keeper of the Records of the City, who, by his Ability, Probity, and Application, is become the Pilot, as it were, of this whole Community.

At this Conference, where the Precaution is used to speak to each other at a great Distance, an Agreement is made, importing, that at that Place a Market shall be establish'd, where a double Barrier shall be fixed;

and

and that another Market ſhall be ſettled at the Sheep-Inn, on the Road to *Aubagne*, which is likewiſe two Leagues from *Marſeilles*; another for Veſſels bringing Proviſions by Sea, at a Creek called *Leſtaque*, in the Gulph of the Iſlands of *Marſeilles*; and that at all theſe Markets and Barriers, the Guards ſhall be placed by the Procurators of the Country, and paid by the Sheriffs of *Marſeilles*.

The 8th, this Agreement is confirm'd by an Arret of the Chamber of Vacations: In Conſequence of which, the Sheriffs write to all the Conſuls of the Towns and Places of *Provence*, preſſing them to ſend, with all Expedition, Corn, and other Proviſions, Wood and Coal, to theſe Markets and Barriers, where all ſhall be tranſacted without Communication.

They apply themſelves the ſame Day to the drawing up of general Inſtructions, in which they ſpecify all the Duties the Commiſſaries whom they have already appointed, are to perform, for relieving the Poor, and taking Care of the Sick.

In the mean time, it being evident that M. *Eſtelle* and *Mouſtier*, who hitherto have ſat up by Turns every Night, to ſee the Dead, Sick, and Suſpected, carried to the Infirmaries, and Houſes faſten'd up or perfumed, cannot poſſibly undergo ſuch Fatigues much longer; eſpecially the Diſtemper beginning to break out in divers Quarters of the Town, far diſtant from each other; altho' M. *Audimar* and *Dieudé* offer'd to relieve them; The Marquis *de Pilles* judging it neceſſary they ſhould manage their Health and Life, it was reſolved in the Aſſembly,

1. That Carts ſhall be uſed to carry off the Dead; that all the ſturdieſt Beggars who can be found, ſhall be ſeized, and made Buriers of the Dead; that Four Lieutenants of Health ſhall direct them, and M. *Bonnet*, Lieutenant to the Governor, ſhall command them.

2. Men

2. Men shall forthwith be set to work, to dig large and deep Pits without the Walls of the Town, in which the Dead shall be buried with Lime.

3. A Pest-House or Hospital shall be immediately establish'd: The Hospital *de la Charité* is first thought of; but the Difficulty of removing out of it, and lodging elsewhere, above 800 of both Sexes who are in it, renders it necessary to resolve upon that *des Convalescens*, which is near the Walls of the Town, on the side of the Gate of St. *Bernard du Bois*.

The 9th of *August*, it is observ'd, that some Physicians, and almost all the Master-Surgeons, are fled. An Ordinance is issued at my Instance, to oblige them to return; on the Penalty to the former, of being expell'd for ever from the College of their Faculty; and to the latter, of being expell'd the Company of Surgeons, and of being proceeded against extraordinarily.

Another Ordinance is publish'd at my Instance, forbidding Butchers, when they flea and cut up Beef or Mutton at the Slaughter-House, to blow it up with their Mouth, by which the Plague might be communicated to the Meat; but to make use of Bellows, on Pain of Death.

Another, forbidding Bakers to convert into Biscuit, the Meal the City gives them to make Bread of for the Poor; or to make any White Bread, in order to prevent their bolting the Meal designed for the Poor's Bread.

And another, forbidding all Persons to divert the publick Waters for overflowing their Grounds; that the Conduits may not become dry, but that Water may run the more plentifully through all the Streets of the City to carry off the Filth.

This Day and the following, it is found not a little difficult, to get all that had been resolved upon the Day before put in Execution: Carts, Horses, Harness are wanted; they must be had from the Country, and no

Person

Perſon will furniſh them to ſerve to carry infected Bodies. Men are wanted to harneſs the Horſes, to put them to the Carts, and to drive them; and every one abhors lending a Hand to ſo dangerous a Service. Buriers of the Dead are wanted to take them out of the Houſes; and tho' exceſſive Pay be offered, the pooreſt of the Populace dread ſuch hazardous Work, and make all poſſible Efforts to ſhun it. Peaſants are wanted to open the Pits, and none will come to dig, ſuch Affright and Horror has ſeiz'd them: The Sheriffs are oblig'd to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, to get ſome by Management, and others by Force and Rigor.

To put into Order as ſpeedily as is requiſite, a Peſt-Houſe, and to furniſh it with all Neceſſaries, which are almoſt numberleſs, is a Taſk no leſs perplexed with Difficulties. The Hoſpital *des Convaleſcens*, which was reſolved to be made uſe of, is found to be too little; it is neceſſary to enlarge it, by joining to it a Building called the *Jas*, which ſtands very near it; a thouſand Things are to be done, and yet none could eaſily be made to ſtir about them: M. *Mouſtier* is obliged to repair thither, and to abide upon the Spot; and by keeping Hands at Work Night and Day, he makes ſuch Expedition, that in 48 Hours he gets it put in Order, all Neceſſaries ſorted and laid ready, and the whole made fit to receive the Sick.

A very great Difficulty ſtill remains, which is to find Stewards, Overſeers, Cooks, and other lower Officers, and eſpecially ſo great a Number of Servants as are requiſite to tend the Sick: Advertiſements are affixed throughout the City, to invite thoſe ſordid Creatures whom Avarice draws into Dangers, or thoſe of better Minds, whom ſuperabundant Charity diſpoſes to devote themſelves for the Publick; and by ſeeking ſuch out, by encouraging, giving, and promiſing, they are procured: Apothecaries and Surgeons are engaged; and two Phyſicians, Strangers, named *Gayon*, come in voluntarily, and offer their Service, and to be ſhut up in the Hoſpital: Unhappily, Death puts an End too ſoon to their Charity and Zeal.

Three Pits of Sixty Foot long, as many broad, and Twenty four deep, are begun at once without the Walls, between the Gate of *Aix* and that of *Joliette:* To compel the Peasants to work at them, M. *Mousſier* is obliged to keep with them daily, exposed to the Heat of the Sun.

The Chevalier *Rose*, appointed Captain and Commissary General at the *Rive Neuve*, beyond the Port, does the same: He puts into proper Order another vast Hospital, under the Sheds of a Rope-yard; causes large and deep Pits to be dug near the Abbey of St. *Victor*; gets together Carts, Buriers of the Dead, and all Persons needful to look to the Living, the Dying, and the Dead; and what is no less remarkable than his Activity, his Courage, and his Zeal for his unfortunate Country, he furnishes out of his own Purse the great Expences necessary for maintaining that Hospital, and the many Hands he employs, without troubling himself when and how he shall be reimbursed.

No sooner are these Pest-Houses in any Readiness to receive the Sick, but in less than Two Days they are quite filled; but are not long so by those who are carried thither: The Distemper is so violent, that those who are brought in at Night are carried out next Day to the Pits; and so the Dead make Room every Day successively for the Sick.

The 12th of *August*, M. *de Chicoyneau* and *Verny*, the chief Physicians of *Montpellier*, arrive at the Barrier of *Notre-Dame*, to come and examine, by Order of his Royal Highness, the true Nature of the Distemper that afflicts this City: Lodgings are made ready for them, and a Coach is sent to bring them hither from the Barrier.

The 13th, the Marquess *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs invite them to the Town-House, whither they had summoned all the Physicians and Master-Surgeons of the City; after they had conferred a long Time upon the Symptoms of the Distemper, they agree among themselves, to go together the following Days, to visit as well the sick in the Hospitals, as those in the several Quar-

Quarters of the Town, and to make such Experiments as they should judge proper.

Hitherto the Distemper has not exerted all its Rage; it kills indeed those it seizes, hardly one escaping; and whatever House it enters, it carries off the whole Family; but as yet, it has fallen only on the poorer Sort of People, which keeps many Persons in a false Notion, that it is not really the Plague, but proceeds from bad Diet and Want of other Necessaries: those who use the Sea, and have frequently seen the Plague in the *Levant*, think they observe some Difference: In short, Abundance of People still remain in doubt, and expecting with the utmost Impatience the Decision of the Physicians of *Montpellier*, to determine them whether to stay or fly.

The 14th, the Sheriffs write to the Council of Marine, most humbly to thank his Royal Highness for his Care and Goodness, in sending to them these Physicians.

The 15th they write to the Marshal *de Villars*, to acquaint him with the Condition of the City, and the extreme Want it is in, having near a hundred thousand Souls in it, without Bread and without Money: they write likewise to M. *de Bernage*, Intendant in *Languedoc*, and to the Marquess *de Caylus* the commanding Officer in *Provence*, then at *Montpellier*, to desire them to procure them Bread-Corn, to preserve them from Famine, which they had no less Reason to fear than the Plague. The Marquess *de Caylus* has the Goodness to engage his own Credit for procuring them a good Quantity.

The 16th being the Festival of St. *Roch*, which has at all Times been solemnized at *Marseilles*, for imploring Deliverance from the Plague, the Marquess *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs, for preventing Communication, would have the Procession usually made every Year, in which the Bust and Relicks of that Saint are carried, be now forborn; but they are obliged to yield to the Outcries of the People, who become almost raving in Matters of Devotion, when they are under so terrible

a Scourge as the Plague, whose dire Effects they already feel; they even judge it convenient to assist at the Procession themselves, with all their Halbardiers and Guards, to hinder its being followed by a Crowd, and to prevent all Disorder.

The 17th the Physicians of *Montpellier* come to the Town-House, to acquaint the Sheriffs with what they have discover'd of the Nature of the Distemper, and in plain Words declare it to be certainly the Plague.

But considering how many People have already left the City, and that the Terror and Affright in it have put all into Confusion, they think fit, lest they should increase it, to dissemble; and that, for quieting Peoples Minds, a publick Notification should be affixed; importing, that they find the Distemper to be only a contagious Fever, occasion'd by unwholsome Diet, and that it will soon cease by the Supplies which are preparing to be sent in from all Parts, and which will produce Plenty of all Things.

This Notification is forthwith affixed, but without any Effect: The Mortality which for some Days past has extremely increas'd, the Malignity and Violence with which it begins to rage in all Parts without Distinction, and the Suddenness with which it is observ'd to communicate it self imperceptibly, has already convinced the most obstinate, and those who were most disposed to deceive themselves, that it is really the Plague; and without waiting to hear or reason any longer, every one runs away so precipitately, that all the Gates of the Town are hardly sufficient to let out the Crowds.

Were those only the useless Mouths, nothing could be more convenient and beneficial; but the most necessary Persons, and even those whose Functions oblige them most indispensably to tarry, are the forwardest to desert; almost all the Intendants of Health, those of the Office of Plenty, the Councellors of the Town, the Commissaries *de Police*, the chief Director of the Hospitals and other Houses of publick Charity; the very Commissaries, who but a few Days ago, were

eſtabliſhed in the Pariſhes and Quarters to take care of relieving the Poor; the Tradeſmen of all Profeſſions, and thoſe who are the moſt neceſſary in Life, the Bakers, the Sellers of Proviſions and common Neceſſaries; even thoſe whoſe Duty it is to watch others, and hinder them from leaving the Town; that is to ſay, the Captains and Officers of the *Militia*, do all deſert, abandon, and fly from the City: In ſhort, the Marquis *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs are left by themſelves, with the Care upon them of an infinite Number of poor People, ready to attempt any Thing in the Extremity to which they are reduced by Want, and by the Calamities which are multiplied by the Contagion.

The Town has now an Aſpect that moves Compaſſion; an Air of Deſolation appears throughout; all the Shops are every where ſhut up; the greateſt Part of the Houſes, Churches and Convents, all the publick Markets and Places of Reſort are deſerted; and no Perſon is to be found in the Streets, but poor groaning Wretches; the Port is empty, the Gallies have withdrawn from the Keys, and are encloſed within a Stockade on the Side of the Arſenal, where the Bridges are drawn up, and high Barriers erected, and all the Merchant-Ships and Veſſels have left the Wharfs, and gone out to Anchor at a Diſtance.

This proud *Marſeilles*, but a few Days before ſo flouriſhing; this Source of Plenty, and (if I may uſe the Expreſſion) of Felicity; is become the true Image of *Jeruſalem* in its Deſolation: Happy ſtill if it could ſtop here; and if the Hand which has begun to chaſtiſe her, did not within leſs than Two Weeks, render her the moſt dreadful Scene of human Miſery, that ever Deſtruction formed in any City of the World.

The 18th, a Crowd of People from the Quarter of St. *John* come before the Gates of the Town-Houſe, crying out that they will have Wine; and that there is no body left in the Town who will ſell any. The Guards make ready to drive them away, M. *Eſtelle*

repairs

repairs thither, and soon after M. *Moustier*; they pacify them, promise to let them have what they desire; and accordingly an Ordinance is immediately published, commanding all those who have Wine by them, to expose it to Sale all that Day, otherwise their Cellars to be broke open, and the Wine sold by the Guards, who shall go the Rounds through all the Quarters.

At this Time the Contagion has spread into all Parts of the Town, notwithstanding all the Care and Pains taken to hinder Communication, and begins to make a general Ravage: It is necessary for carrying off the Dead, to employ in the Streets a greater Number of Carts, and especially to increase the Number of Buriers of the Dead.

But this is utterly impossible, almost all of that Sort of People of the Town that could be sacrificed in so dangerous a Work are consumed; they do not live in it above Two Days; they catch the Plague the first Corpse they touch, whatever Precaution is used; they are furnished with Hooks fastened to the End of long Staves; but the coming any thing near the Bodies infects them: They are paid no less than Fifteen Livres a Day; but as alluring a Bait as that is to beggarly Wretches, they will not touch it, in the Sight of certain and inevitable Death; they must be hunted for, and dragged to the Work by downright Force: Now whether they are able to keep themselves hid, or whether they are all dead, there are no longer any to be found; in the mean while, the dead Bodies remain in the Houses, and at the Gates of the Hospitals, cast in Heaps one upon another, there being no Means to remove them and bury them in the Pits.

In this Extremity the Sheriffs have recourse to the Officers commanding the Gallies, most earnestly beseeching them to let them have some of their Slaves to serve for Buriers of the Dead, offering them Security for supplying their Room at the Cost of the City, or to make the Loss good to his Majesty. They condescend, considering the absolute Necessity, to give them

them Twenty Six of their Invalids, to whom they promiſe Liberty to excite them to the Work.

It cannot be denied that the City was in ſome Meaſure ſaved by the Help of theſe Slaves, and of thoſe afterwards granted, but it muſt be allowed too, that to Sheriffs who are oppreſs'd with the Weight of Buſineſs, and deſerted by all Perſons on whom they could repoſe any Part of their Care, ſuch Buriers of the Dead are very burdenſome.

They are deſtitute of all Neceſſaries; they muſt be provided with Shooes when there are neither Shooes nor a Shooemaker left in the City: They muſt have Lodgings and Victuals, and no body will harbour, or come near, or have any Communication with Gally-Slaves, Buriers of infected Bodies: A watchful Eye muſt be kept over them Night and Day; they rob all Houſes from whence they fetch the dead Bodies; and not knowing how to harneſs the Horſes, or drive the Carts, they often overturn them, breaking the Carts or the Harneſs, which cannot be mended, not only becauſe there is neither Wheelwright nor Collarmaker left, but becauſe no body will touch Things infected; ſo that the Sheriffs muſt be continually begging or borrowing of Carts from the Country, where every Body contrives to hide them; and muſt often be at a Stand in a Work requiring the moſt Haſte of all others, which thoſe Slaves affect to perform ſo ſlowly and lazily, that it is very provoking.

In what City of the World was it ever ſeen, that the Conſuls were harraſſed with ſo many Cares, and reduced to the Neceſſity of going through all the diſmal and dangerous Offices, to which the Sheriffs of *Marſeilles* are forced to ſacrifice themſelves? Seeing that very quickly, to oblige thoſe Slaves to make more Diſpatch, and carry off putrified Bodies which they cannot endure to touch, nor even ſo much as to approach, without being excited and urged on, the Sheriffs are forced to put themſelves at their Head, and go the foremoſt where the Infection rages moſt, to make them carry them off:

M. *Mon-*

M. *Mouſtier* for near Two Months together was forced to riſe conſtantly at Day-break, to ſee them put the Horſes to the Carts, and prevent their breaking them; to follow them to the Pits, leſt they ſhould leave the Bodies on the Sides of the Pits without burying them; and at Night to ſee the Horſes unharneſſed, put into the Stables, and the Harneſs hung where they may be found next Morning, and thereby prevent the Inconveniences which might interrupt the Continuance of a Work, the Delay of which is dangerous. Even the *Roman* Conſuls, ſo full of the Love of their Country, did certainly never carry their Zeal to ſo high a Pitch.

The 19th, Perſons are choſen in all the Pariſhes to make Broth for the ſick Poor, and to diſtribute it among them; and a particular Hoſpital is eſtabliſhed, which the moſt moving Accidents ſuch a Calamity can produce, render abſolutely neceſſary.

Many Women who ſuckled Children, dye of the Contagion; and the Infants are found crying in their Cradles, when the Bodies of the Mothers or Nurſes are taken away; no Body will receive theſe Children, much leſs ſuckle, or feed them: There is no Pity ſtirring in the Time of a Plague, the Fear of catching the Contagion ſtifles all Sentiments of Charity, and even thoſe of Humanity: To ſave as many as poſſible of theſe little Innocents, and of ſo many other unhappy Children of tender Age, whom the Peſtilence has made Orphans, the Sheriffs take the Hoſpital of St. *James* of *Galicia*, and the Convent of the Fathers of *Loretto*, which were become empty by the Death or Flight of all thoſe Monks; and there Care is taken to feed them, with Spoon-Meat, or by holding them to Goats to ſuck. The Number of them is ſo great, that tho' 30 or 40 die in a Day, there are always 12 or 1300, by the Addition of thoſe who are brought in ſucceſſively every Day.

The 20th, Part of the Slaves, which had been received into the Town by t Two Days before, are ſtruck with the Plague, and diſabled from Working; more

are

are asked of the Officers of the Gallies, who grant Thirty Three.

This Day all the Millers and Bakers ceasing to work, because almost all their Servants have left them and fled, an Ordinance is issued at my Instance, requiring the Deserters to return, and to forbid those who remain to leave their Masters, on Pain of Death. Not one Mason is left in the Town, and divers Works are wanting to be done in the Church-Yards, and the Hospitals. A like Ordinance is published, to compel them to return; and another forbidding the carrying out of the Town, Meal or Brown Bread, designed for subsisting the Poor, on the Penalty of a Fine and Confiscation.

The 21st, the Pestilence begins to rage with so much Fury, and the Number of the dead is multiplied so suddenly, that it appears impossible to carry them off in Carts to the Pits without the Town; because the Carts cannot well go to the upper Quarter of St. *John*, nor to several others of the old Town, the Streets of which are narrow and steep, and yet the greatest Number of dead Bodies lies in those Streets, which are inhabited by Multitudes of the meanest People; and besides, it is so far from thence to the Pits without the Walls, that there is no doing so much Work without falling into the Inconvenience of leaving many Bodies behind, which would poison the Air, and breed a general Infection.

Upon this and other perplexing Difficulties, which require the Advice of a Number of judicious Persons, the Marquess *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs desire the General Officers of the Gallies, to assemble with them at the Town-House, and give them their Advice: It is there resolved,

1. That for the Reasons above specified, and for avoiding the Inconveniencies which 'tis apprehended might be fatal, the Dead shall be buried in the Pits without the Walls, and also in the Vaults of the Churches of the *Jacobines*, the *Observantines*, of the

Grand *Carmelites*, and of *Loretto*; that these Churches being situate in the upper Town, where is the greatest Number of dead Bodies, and where the Carts cannot easily pass; a kind of Biers shall be made, on which the Slaves, shall carry off those Bodies from thence: that at each Church, Heaps of Lime shall be laid, and Barrels of Water placed, to be thrown into the Vaults, and when they are filled, they shall be closed up with a Cement, so that no Infection may exhale.

2. That a trusty Person with some Guards on Horseback, shall march at the Head of the Carts, and with each Brigade of Slaves, to make them work diligently, and prevent their losing Time in stealing.

3. Left the Pits and the several Church-yards in which the Dead are buried, should exhale the Infection, for want of being filled up and covered with the necessary Quantity of Earth and Lime; a general and exact View shall be taken, and sufficient Heaps of both shall be laid there.

4. Several Parishes and Quarters being destitute of Commissaries, who have fled, and Persons to supply their room not being to be found, each Convent shall be obliged to furnish Monks to act as Commissaries in those Quarters where they are wanted.

5. For preventing Communication, the Bishop shall be desired to cause all Divine Service in the Churches to cease.

6. To keep the Populace in Awe and obedient to Orders, Gibbets shall be set up in all the publick Places.

The 21st, the Sheriffs acquainting the Council of Marine with the Increase of the Contagion, desire them to allow all ordinary Business to remain suspended for the future, that they may apply themselves entirely to what regards the publick Health only.

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When the Plague rages thus in a City, every one looking on himſelf as at the Point of Death, is no longer in a Diſpoſition to apply himſelf to any thing, but what tends immediately to his own Preſervation.

In the mean while every thing is grown ſcarce in the Town, even ſuch things of which there is ordinarily the greateſt Plenty: Linnen cannot be had for covering the Mattreſſes in the Hoſpitals, tho' Search is made for it by breaking open all the Warehouſes and Shops. The Report of the Plague keeps out whatever uſed to be brought daily into the Port from all Parts of the World: The Sheriffs are obliged therefore to write to the firſt Preſident, to deſire him to ſend what Linnen can be had at *Aix*, and alſo Shooes for the Slaves, there being no Shooemaker at *Marſeilles* to make them.

Were it not for his Attention to the Wants of the Sheriffs, and his Care to ſupply them, they would be in a thouſand Perplexities: Twice or thrice a Day they take the Liberty to write to him, and always with equal Goodneſs he exerts himſelf to anſwer their Demands, condeſcending to give Directions in Matters beneath the Functions of his Miniſtry; and as if it were not enough to employ his own Care and Pains Night and Day, for ſaving this unfortunate City, he extends his Concern for it yet further, by chuſing to be repreſented here by M. *Rigord*, his Subdelegate, who acts with ſo great Application and Zeal, that tho' the Plague has ravaged his Houſe, tho' he has ſeen his Lady periſh by his Side, and all his Family, Clerks, and Servants ſwept away, theſe Horrors have not ſhaken him, nor drawn him aſide one Moment from his continual Labours for the Relief of the Town.

This Day, upon Information that ſeveral Bakers to conceal their Deſertion, have committed their Shops and Ovens to the Management of their Servants, who appear there only for Show, but do nothing; an Ordinance is publiſhed at my Inſtance, enjoyning them to return and look to their own Buſineſs, forbidding them to abſent themſelves again on Pain of Death. Another Ordinance is iſſued, to oblige likewiſe the Intendants of

Health, those of the Office of Plenty, the Counsellors of the City, and all other municipal Officers, to return within 24 Hours, on the Penalty of a Fine of 1,000 Livres, and of being declared incapable of all municipal Offices.

The same Day the Bishop, to whom the Marquess *de Pilles* had notified the Resolutions taken in the Assembly the Day before, sets forth to him in a Letter several Reasons against burying the infected Dead in the Vaults of the Churches of the Convents chosen for that Use.

Whereupon the Marquess *de Pilles*, having invited the General Officers of the Gallies to meet again at the Town-House, with the Sheriffs, and some other good Citizens: After the Reasons urged in the said Letter had been well considered, and weighed against that which had determined them to pass the Resolution for burying in the Churches, which is, the absolute and indispensible Necessity of doing it; they unanimously conclude that the said Resolution shall stand, but that the Execution of it shall be forborn 24 Hours, to see whether in that Interval the Mortality shall happen to decrease, so that it may be dispensed with; but that in the mean time, without any Delay, the Vaults in the Churches shall be got ready, and all the Lime and Water necessary carried thither.

The 23d, when this Work was setting about, the Monks of those Churches shut up the Doors, and refused to open them. M. *Moustier* repairs thither, causes them to be forced open, and all the Lime and Barrels of Water requisite to be brought thither by Carts. As for Biers, for want of Joyners, he puts the first Persons that come in his way upon making them as well as they can: The Publick Services in Cases of Extremity are dispatched, where Magistrates know how to direct and command, and will see themselves obeyed.

This Day, the Mortality is so far from decreasing, that near 1000 Persons dye; and it being evident there is no room to hesitate about burying in the Churches, seeing

seeing otherwise the dead Bodies would become gradually too numerous to be carried off, all Dispositions are made for setting about it to-Morrow Morning every where at once, and the Officers of the Gallies are pleased to furnish for this Purpose 20 Slaves more.

The 24th, that all Dispatch might be made, and a Work which disheartens Men by the visible Danger and Terrors of Death not slackened, M *Moustier* appears in Person, animating and urging on the Slaves, as well by his Intrepidity and Courage, as by his Actions; and when the Vaults are filled, and the Lime and Water thrown in, he takes care to have them well closed up, and Cement laid over every Hole and Crevice.

The Marquess *de Pilles*, and the other Sheriffs are as active in the mean time to put in Execution all the other Things resolved on.

They appoint the most trusty Persons they can find, to go on Horseback with Guards at the Head of the Carts, and of each Brigade of Slaves; but those Persons do not hold out long in so perilous an Employment, and they are soon obliged to act themselves in that Station.

They have no Occasion to go to desire the Bishop to cause Divine Service to cease in the Churches, they are generally shut up already: There are hardly any Masses now said any where, no Administration of the Sacraments, not so much as the tolling of Bells, all the Ecclesiasticks are fled, and even some of the Parish-Priests.

As for Monks, they cannot possibly find any to act as Commissaries in the Quarters where they are wanted; some have deserted, others are dead, and not a sufficient Number of them are left, to confess the Sick; Father *Milay*, a Jesuit, is the only Man of them all, who to satisfy that Holy Zeal, and fervent Charity, by which he has been always actuated, comes voluntarily and offers to be Commissary in the Street of *Lescale*,

Lescale, and thereabouts ; an Employment which none else durst take, because it is the Part of the Town where the Plague makes the greatest Havock, and which is barricaded with *Corps de Garde* at the Avenues, that no Person may enter, or stir out of it ; the Sheriffs make him Commissary there, where from the Beginning of the Contagion he has confessed the infected. He performs Acts of Piety surpassing any thing called Heroick ; but the Plague does not spare him long, it snatches from the Faithful this new Apostle.

They go to take a View of the Pits and Church-yards ; a horrid Spectacle, dangerous to approach, the vast Number of infected Bodies but lately thrown into them, lying all uncovered, heaped by Thousands on one another.

Formerly Governors and Consuls during all the Time of Contagion, used to keep shut up in the Town-House with very great Precaution ; all who have formed Rules for Towns visited with the Plague, have prescribed that Conduct, judging that the Magistrates ought to be more careful than all others, to preserve their Life and Health.

Here, the Marquess *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs, think only of preserving the Life and Health of others, exposing their own without any Concern ; and are Night and Day in the open Street, wherever they see Danger deter others.

The Marquess *de Pilles* has so little Regard for himself, that at the first he lets the principal Pest-House (which is that *des Convalescens*) be settled within 4 Paces of his own House. M. *Estelle* goes all Night long, so void of fear, to see the dead Bodies carried off the Street *Lescale*, that slipping on the Pavement he was within a Finger's Breadth of falling full upon a dead Body that lay on the Ground before him : M. *Moustier* sets so light by Dangers that make others tremble, that a Plaister reeking with the Corruption of the Bubo of an infected Person thrown out of the Window, lighting on his Cheek, and sticking there, he takes it off perfectly unconcerned, and only wiping his Cheek

Cheek clean with his Spunge dipped in Vinegar, proceeds on the Buſineſs he is about. The others behaved much in the ſame manner.

The 25th, the Plague has ſpread into the four Corners of the City, and exerciſes its Rage on all Sides: From this time to the End of *September* it rages with the ſame Violence, it ſtrikes like Lightning every where, ſweeps all before it, and carries off above a Thouſand Souls a Day.

Its Violence now attacks by Crowds only, and its Fury gives a Thouſand Deaths at once. In Conſequence, the Peſt-Houſes eſtabliſhed are inſufficient to receive all the poor Sick; it is reſolved to make a new one, large enough to take in any Number; and there not being without the Town, nor in it, a Building capacious enough for that Purpoſe, it is reſolved to erect one (as the Phyſicians of *Montpellier* had adviſed) in the Allies of that ſpacious Piece of Ground uſed for playing at Mall, which is without the Gate *des faineants*, contiguous to the Convent of the Reformed *Auguſtines*, with Timber-Work to be covered with Sail-Cloath made of Cotton: This is a new Difficulty for the Sheriffs, to have ſuch an Hoſpital to build, without being able to reckon upon the Aſſiſtance of any Perſon, and even without any Workmen, for they are generally fled.

The 26th, the Chamber of Vacations being informed that almoſt all the Bakers of *Marſeilles* have deſerted, and being deſirous to prevent the Extremity to which the City will be reduced, if at ſuch a Conjuncture ſufficient Quantities of Bread ſhould not be made; they publiſh an Arrêt, commanding all *Bakers* and their Foremen who have withdrawn, to return on Pain of Death; and enjoining the Conſuls of the Places where they may have taken Refuge, to deliver them up, on the Penalty of a Fine and other Puniſhment.

All

All the Shops of Retailers being ſhut up, ſo that People have no whither to go to buy common Neceſſaries, an Ordinance is publiſhed at my Inſtance, to oblige the Retailers to open their Shops within Twenty Four Hours, otherwiſe they ſhall be broken open.

The 27th, the Chamber of Vacations commiſerating the Condition of *Marſeilles*, and the Sufferings of its Inhabitants, publiſh an Arrêt, enjoining all Artificers, Tradeſmen and Wholeſale Dealers, to open their Shops and Warehouſes within Twentyfour Hours, on Pain of Death.

This Day the Marqueſs *de Pilles*, who from the Beginning of the Contagion has been continually at the Town-Houſe, or wherever his Zeal called him, that is to ſay, where was moſt Danger and Difficulty, without any Care of his own Safety, ſinks at length under the Weight of his Fatigues, and falling ſick is unable to ſtir out of his Houſe: The Fear of loſing a Governor, whoſe Merit and Perſon are held in Veneration at *Marſeilles*, gives a general Alarm.

The 28th, the Plague redoubles its Ravages, and the whole City is become a vaſt Church-yard, preſenting to the View the ſad Spectacle of dead Bodies caſt in Heaps one upon another.

In this deplorable State, a thouſand Things are to be done, a Thouſand Wants to be ſupplied, and yet there is no Perſon to have Recourſe to for Relief; the People of the Territory are deaf to all Demands, they cannot by any Order iſſued be wrought upon, to bring in ſo much as Straw for the Mattreſſes in the Hoſpitals, and Hay for the Horſes belonging to the Carts: The Sheriffs ſeeing nothing is to be done but by Force, deſire the firſt Preſident to procure them the Aſſiſtance of ſome Hundred Men of regular Troops.

They apply next to the Officers of the Gallies, remonſtrating to them, that the common Safety is at Stake; that almoſt all the Slaves they have already granted them are dead, and that the Number of dead Bodies the City is fill'd with is ſo exceeding great, that

that they cannot be carried off, unleſs they will be pleas'd to let them have a ſufficient Number to make a ſtrong Effort.

M. *de Rancé*, Lieutenant-General, commanding the Gallies, M. *de Vaucreſſon*, Intendant, and all the General Officers, are moved with the miſerable Condition they ſee *Marſeilles* in; they make too noble and eminent a Part of it, not to be thoroughly concern'd to ſee it wholly periſh; they have ſhewn, on all Occaſions, their good Intentions; and in this, there is not one of them, who, to help to ſave the City, would not hazard his own Life: But not having received Order to the preſent Purpoſe from the Council of Marine, they make a Difficulty to grant ſo great a Number of Slaves as is requiſite, and will part with but 80; and this with a Proteſtation, that they ſhall be the laſt.

This Proteſtation obliges the Sheriffs to exert themſelves more than ever, to make theſe Slaves do all the Service that is poſſible: M. *Mouſtier*, not ſatisfying himſelf with the toilſome Care of providing them Lodging and Subſiſtance, and of going every Morning to ſee them harneſs the Horſes, and get to work with the Carts, puts himſelf at the Head of the largeſt Brigade, leads them to the Places that are leaſt acceſſible, where lye the greateſt Heaps of putrified Bodies, and encourages them to carry them off, either whole, or by Pieces.

In the mean while a Letter is written to the Council of Marine, moſt humbly to intreat his Royal Highneſs to be pleaſed to give Orders for ſupplying the Town: Which wanting all Things, there being no Meat to make Broth with for the poor Sick, and Famine deſtroying thoſe whom the Plague might ſpare, his Royal Highneſs is earneſtly beſought to order the neighbouring Provinces to ſend in the neceſſary Proviſions for ſubſiſting the People.

The 29th, several Ordinances are issued, at my Instance.

1. All the Rakers, and others employed under the Scavengers to clean the Streets, having deserted since the Beginning of the Contagion, for fear of being made use of as Buriers of the Dead; the whole Town since the Second of this Month, is full of Dunghils and Poisonous Filth, which stagnates on the Pavement: They are by an Ordinance commanded to return on Pain of Death.

2. From out of the Houses, the Quilts, Straw-Beds, Bed-Cloaths, Apparel, and Rags used about the Infected, are thrown into the Streets; so that there is no passing them. An Ordinance forbids it, and enjoins that all such Things be drawn to the publick Squares, and immediately burnt, on Pain of Imprisonment.

3. For want of Porters, the very Corn, which the Boats bring up from the Barrier of *Lestaque*, cannot be carried into the Store-Houses; those Porters are all engaged in the Service of private Persons in the Territory: An Ordinance commands them to come and work as usual in the City, on Pain of Death; and private Persons are forbidden to detain them, on the Penalty of a Fine of 3000 Livres, and of Imprisonment.

4. For want of those who used to ply with Asses, the Bakers cannot get the Wood carried with which the Town furnishes them; and all private Persons are under the like Inconvenience: An Ordinance charges those Ass-Keepers to return with their Beasts, on Pain of Death.

The Chamber of Vacations being informed, that the Intendants of Health, and the Commissaries appoint-

appointed in the Parishes and Quarters, who have deserted, do not obey the Ordinance of the Sheriffs and return; that Chamber issues an Arrêt this Day, commanding them all to return forthwith to their Duties, on Pain of Death.

All these Arrêts and Ordinances are duly proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet, and affixed at all the Corners of the Streets, and in all the Quarters of the Territories, but to no manner of Purpose; the Dread of the Plague is so strong and terrible, that nothing can overcome it. It is indeed impossible for the Heart of Man to bear up against all the frightful Spectacles that present themselves every where to the Eye in this unhappy City; the dire Effects of a raging Pestilence, which seems to threaten not to be asswaged by the Death only and general Extinction of all the Inhabitants, but by rendring the Place it self a vast Sink of Corruption and Poison, for ever uninhabitable by human Race.

Which Way soever one turns, the Streets appear strowed on both Sides with dead Bodies close by each other, most of which being putrified, are unsupportably hideous to behold.

As the Number of Slaves employed to take them out of the Houses, is very insufficient to be able to carry all off daily, some frequently remain there whole Weeks; and there would remain longer, if the Stench they emit, which poisons the Neighbours, did not compel them for their own Preservation, to overcome all Aversion to such horrid Work, and go into the Apartments where they lye, to drag them down into the Streets: They pull them out with Hooks, and hawl them by Ropes fastened to the Staves of those Hooks into the Streets: This they do in the Night, that they may draw them to some Distance from their own Houses; they

leave them extended before another's Door, who at opening it the next Morning is frighted at the Sight of ſuch an Object, which generally infects him, and gives him Death.

The Ring, and all publick Walks, Squares, and Market-Places, the Key of the Port, are ſpread with dead Bodies, ſome lying in Heaps: The Square before the Building called the *Loge*; and the Palliſades of the Port, are filled with the continual Number of dead Bodies that are brought aſhore from the Ships and Veſſels, which are crowded with Families, whom Fear induced to take Refuge there, in a falſe Perſuaſion, that the Plague would not reach them upon the Water.

Under every Tree in the Ring and the Walks, under every Pent-Houſe of the Shops in the Streets and on the Port, one ſees among the Dead a prodigious Number of poor Sick, and even whole Families, lying on a little Straw, or on ragged Mattreſſes; ſome are in a languiſhing Condition, to be relieved only by Death; others are light-headed by the Force of the Venom which rages in them: They implore the Aſſiſtance of thoſe who paſs by; ſome in pitiful Complaints, ſome in Groans and Out-cries which Pain or Frenzy draw from them. An intolerable Stink exhales from among them: They not only endure the Effects of the Diſtemper, but ſuffer equally by the publick Want of Food and common Neceſſaries: They dye under the Rags that cover them, and every Moment adds to the Number of the Dead that lye about them. It rends the Heart, to behold on the Pavement ſo many wretched Mothers, who have lying by their Sides the dead Bodies of their Children, whom they have ſeen expire, without being able to give them any Relief; and ſo many poor Infants ſtill hanging at the Breaſts of their Mothers, who died holding them in

their

their Arms, ſucking in the reſt of that Venom which will ſoon put them into the ſame Condition.

If any Space be yet left in the Streets, it is filled with infected Houſhold-Goods and Cloaths, which are thrown out of the Windows every where; ſo that one cannot find a void Place to ſet one's Foot in.

All the Dogs and Cats that are killed, lye putrifying every where among the dead Bodies, the Sick, and the infected Cloaths; all the Port is filled with thoſe thrown into them; and while they float, they add their Stench to the general Infection, which has ſpread all over the Town, and preys upon the Vitals, the Senſes, and the Mind.

Thoſe one meets in the Street, are generally livid and drooping, as if their Souls had begun to part from their Bodies; or whom the Violence of the Diſtemper has made delirious, who, wandring about they know not whither, as long as they can keep on their Legs, ſoon drop, through Weakneſs; and, unable to get up again, expire on the Spot; ſome writhed into ſtrange Poſtures, denoting the torturing Venom which ſtruck them to the Heart; others are agitated by ſuch Diſorders of Mind, that they cut their own Throats, or leap into the Sea, or throw themſelves out of the Windows, to put an End to their Miſery, and prevent the Death which was not far off. Nothing is to be heard or ſeen on all Sides but Diſtreſs, Lamentation, Tears, Sighs, Groans, Affright, Deſpair.

To conceive ſo many Horrors, one muſt figure to one's ſelf, in one View, all the Miſeries and Calamities that Human Nature is ſubject to; and one cannot venture to draw near ſuch a Scene, without being ſtruck dead, or ſeiz'd with unutterable Horrors of Mind.

The

The 30th, those Heaps of dead Bodies which are in every Quarter of the City, are increas'd by new ones; every Night adds a thousand Dead; and now none of the Slaves are left to work, they are all dead, or sick of the Distemper; nor can more be demanded, after the Protestation made by the Officers of the Gallies.

What can be done in Circumstances so full of Desolation? The Sheriffs have Recourse, as usual, to the First President, and intreat him to dispatch a Courier for them to the Court, to sollicit his Royal Highness to send Orders for their being supplied with as many Galley-Slaves as they shall have occasion for. They desire him also to write to M. *de Rancé* and *de Vaucresson*, to persuade them to grant, in the mean while, at least a Hundred.

The 31st, it is impossible for the Hospitals to receive the Number of Sick who crowd thither: As soon as one Person in a House is seized with the Distemper, that Person becomes an Object of Horror and Affright to the nearest Relations; Nature instantly forgets all ordinary Duties; and the Bands of Flesh and Blood being less strong than the Fear of certain Death, shamefully dissolve in an Instant.

As the Distemper which has seized that Person, threatens to attack them; as the Contagion communicates it self with extreme Quickness; as the Danger is almost equal to him that suffers, and to those who approach him; and as those who tend and help him have no other Prospect than that of following him in a few Days; they take at first the barbarous Resolution, either to drive him out of the House, or to fly and desert it themselves, and to leave him alone without Assistance or Relief, abandoned to Hunger, Thirst, and all that can render Death the more tormenting.

Thus Wives treat their Husbands, and Husbands their Wives, Children their Parents, and Parents their Children: Vain Precaution, inspired by Love of Life, and Horror of Death! By that time they take their Resolution, they have already catch'd the subtle Effluvia of the fatal Poison they would secure themselves from; they are soon sensible of its Malignity, a speedy Death is the Punishment of their Cruelty and Baseness: Others have the same Hardness of Heart towards them; they are forced into the open Street in their Turn, or are left alone in their Houses to perish without Help.

Hence proceeds that infinite Number of Sick, of each Sex, and of every Age, State, and Condition, who are found lying in the Streets and publick Places. If all are not cruelly driven out of their own Houses by their Relations or Friends, they prevent that Cruelty; and lest they should run the Hazard of being left alone at home, by the Flight of those Relations or Friends, when they are become quite helpless, they repair to the Hospitals; where not getting Entrance, nay, not being able to get near the Gates, by reason of the Multitudes of Sick, which have got thither before; and who finding them already full, lye down on the Pavement, and stop up all the Avenues; they are obliged to seek room for themselves farther off, among the putrified dead Bodies; the Sight and Stench of which serve to hasten their Death, the only End of this Distemper. These Extremities put the Sheriffs upon double Diligence, to get the New Hospital in the Alleys of the *Mall* finished: In the mean time, they cause large Tents to be pitched upon that *Esplanade* without the Town, which is between the Gate *des Faineants*, and the Monastery of the *Capuchins*, where they order as many Mattresses to be put, as the Tents will hold. No sooner are those Tents up, and the Mattresses placed, but they are filled with so many poor Infected, that several throw themselves upon one Mat-

Mattreſs: A greater Number is requiſite to ſupply them all; and the Misfortune is, that there is neither Straw nor Linnen to be had to make them with.

The 1ſt of *September*, the firſt Preſident having been pleaſed to write to M. *de Rancé*, and *de Vaucreſſon*, deſiring them to let the Sheriffs have a hundred Galley-Slaves more; they are preſently ſent to them, and a more vigorous Uſe of them was never made: For M. *Mouſtier*, incited by the Extremity to which things are reduced, immediately puts himſelf at the Head of theſe Slaves, with 11 Carts, and while they are able, makes them carry off above 1200 dead Bodies a Day.

The 2d, for making this Labour the more eaſy, as the Bodies in the Houſes occaſion the moſt Loſs of Time to the Slaves to fetch them away; and beſides, being putrified by being left there long, they cannot draw them out with Hooks, but by Pieces; as alſo for preventing Robberies by the Slaves, who finding no Perſon in the Houſes, ſteal all they can lay their Hands on; an Ordinance is publiſhed at my Inſtance, importing, that as ſoon as any one dies in a Houſe, thoſe belonging to that Houſe ſhall be obliged to convey the Body down into the Street, uſing all proper and neceſſary Precautions.

The ſame Day an Arrêt is iſſued by the Chamber of Vacations, injoyning all the Rectors of the *Hôtel Dieu*, *de la Charité*, of Foundlings, of the Houſes of the Penitent, and of Refuge, the Captains of the City, the Phyſicians appointed for the Hoſpitals, and all Sorts of Intendants and municipal Officers, to return to their Duty at *Marſeilles*; otherwiſe declaring them incapable of Publick Offices, and fining them 1000 Livres.

The 3d, the Sheriffs repair to the Town-Houſe almoſt by themſelves, with M. *Capus*, Keeper of the Records,

Lords, his eldeſt Son, ſo diſtinguiſh'd by his Merit and his Virtues, who, from the Beginning of the Contagion, has aſſiſted him to go through the Multiplicity of Buſineſs in his Offices; M. *Bouis*, Caſhier; and myſelf; having no longer any Guards, Domeſtick Servants, or other Perſon under Command. The Ravages the Plague has already made in this great City, may be judged by the Number belonging to the Town-Houſe only, that have been carried off, which is above 500 Perſons, *viz.* 30 Guards wearing the Shoulder-Belt, all the Guards *de la Police*, all the Captains of the City one excepted, all the Lieutenants except two, almoſt all the Captains Lieutenants, and Guards of the Five Brigades *du Privilege du Vin*, all the Sergeants of the Nightly Watch or Patroll, 350 Men of the Companies of the Guard, and all the City-Yeomen appointed to attend the Magiſtrates, who are now become deſtitute of all Servants.

Men are become only Shadows; thoſe who are ſeen well one Day, are in the Carts the next; and, what is unaccountable, thoſe who have ſhut themſelves up moſt ſecurely in their own Houſes, and are the moſt careful to take in nothing without the moſt exact Precautions, are attacked there by the Plague, which creeps in no Body knows how.

The 4th, nothing is more deplorable, than to ſee the vaſt Number of Sick and Dying which are ſpread over the whole City, deprived of all ſpiritual as well as temporal Comforts, and reduced to the lamentable Condition of dying almoſt all of them without Confeſſion.

There wanted not, indeed, Servants of the Lord, as well of the Secular as Regular Clergy, who devoted their Lives to the ſaving of Souls, and aſſiſting and confeſſing the infected; there wanted not even holy Heroes, (for by that Name we ought to call all the Capuchins and Jeſuits of the Two Houſes of

St. *Jeaume*, and of the holy Croſs, and likewiſe all the Obſervantins, and the Recollets, and ſome others) who, with more than heroick Courage, and indefatigable Charity and Zeal, ran about every where, and ruſhed precipitately into the moſt deſerted and moſt infected Houſes, into the Streets and Places that were thickeſt ſtrow'd with putrify'd Bodies, and into the Hoſpitals that reeked moſt with the Contagion, to confeſs the infected, aſſiſt them in the Article of Death, and receive their laſt contagious and envenom'd Breath, as if it were but Dew.

But theſe ſacred Labourers, who may well be look'd upon as true Martyrs, (ſeeing thoſe of *Alexandria*, under the Prelacy of St. *Denis*, who had the Charity to aſſiſt the infected, were honour'd with the Glory of Martyrdom) are almoſt all taken away by Death, in the Time of ſo great a Mortality, when their Help is moſt wanted: Forty two Capuchins have already periſhed, Twenty one Jeſuits, Thirty two Obſervantins, Twenty nine Recollets, Ten Barefooted *Carmelites*, Twenty two Reformed *Auguſtines*, all the Grand *Carmelites*, the Grand Trinitarians, the Reformed Trinitarians, the Monks of *Loretto*, of Mercy, the *Dominicans* and Grand *Auguſtins* who had kept in their Convent; beſides ſeveral Secular Prieſts, and the greateſt Part of the Vicars of Chapters and Pariſhes.

In ſo great an Extremity, the Biſhop recalls thoſe, who, by their peculiar Character, and by the Nature of their Benefice, are under the indiſpenſible Obligation of confeſſing and adminiſtring the ſpiritual Remedies to the Dying; but who being ſtruck with ſhameful Terror, have baſely ſought their own Safety by Flight, without troubling themſelves about the Salvation of others.

Had their Concern to diſcharge their proper Duty been too cold to light up in their Hearts that Fire of

of Charity with which they ought to glow, the Example of their holy Prelate ſhould have excited them: In vain, from the Beginning of the Contagion was he preſſed to leave the City, to endeavour to preſerve himſelf, for the reſt of his Dioceſs; he rejects all ſuch Counſels, and hearkens only to thoſe which the Love the Sovereign Paſtor has inſpired him with for his Flock, ſuggeſt to him; he tarries with unſhaken Fortitude, determined to lay down his Life for the Good of his Sheep, if God is pleas'd to require it.

He is not ſatisfied with proſtrating himſelf at the Feet of Altars, and lifting up his Hands to Heaven to beſeech God to mitigate his Wrath; his Charity is active; he is every Day in the open Streets, through all Quarters of the Town; he goes up to the higheſt and worſt Apartments of the Houſes to viſit the Sick; croſſes the Streets among the dead Bodies; appears in the publick Places, at the Port, at the Ring; the pooreſt, the moſt deſtitute of Friends, thoſe afflicted the moſt grievouſly and hideouſly, are the Perſons to whom he goes with moſt Earneſtneſs; and without dreading thoſe mortal Blaſts which carry Poiſon to the Heart, he approaches them, confeſſes them, exhorts them to Patience, diſpoſes them to die, pours celeſtial Conſolations into their Souls, repreſenting to them the Felicity of Suffering and of Poverty; and drops every where abundant Fruits of his generous Charity, diſtributing Money where-ever he goes, and eſpecially in ſecret to indigent Families, whom holy Curioſity prompts him to ſeek out and to relieve; he has already given away Twenty five thouſand Crowns, and takes up what Money he can upon Pledges, to enable him to diſtribute more. But I ſhould not blaze abroad what his Humility is careful to conceal, it ought to be left under the Veil which that Virtue throws over it.

Death has ſpared this new *Charles Borromeo*, but has continually ſurrounded him, and almoſt mowed under his Feet: The Plague gets into his Palace, the greateſt Part of his Officers and Domeſticks are ſtruck with it; he is obliged to retreat into the Houſe of the firſt Preſident at *Marſeilles*; the Plague purſues him thither, and not only attacks the reſt of his Domeſticks, but Two Perſons who are very dear to him for their diſtinguiſhed Merit, and are his Aſſiſtants in his holy Labours, Father *de la Fare* a Jeſuit, and M. *Bourgeret* Canon of *la Major*; the firſt eſcapes, but he has the Grief to ſee the other expire: All this however does not terrify him, nor with-hold him one Moment from any of the Duties of his fervent Charity; he goes every where ſtill to viſit the Infected.

But the Plague deſtroys too faſt for the ſurviving Remnant of Confeſſors to perform all the Service neceſſarily required: A greater Number of Workmen ſhould be had; wherefore the Canons of the Collegiate Church of St. *Martin*, and ſome of that of *Acoules*, who have Benefices with Cure of Souls, and who have fled, are thoſe the Biſhop recals, to come and confeſs each within the Bounds of his Pariſh.

The Sheriffs, who obſerve all thoſe Pariſh-Prieſts are deaf to the Voice of their Biſhop, and unconcerned for the Loſs of the Souls of their Pariſhioners, preſent a Petition to the Biſhop, to order them by an Injunction to return forthwith to their Duty; in default of which their Benefices to be declared vacant, and other Perſons qualified to fill them, to be nominated.

The 5th, the Regulators of the Fiſhermen being capable of ſome Service, and Three of them having fled; an Ordinance is publiſhed at my Inſtance, to oblige them to return, on the Penalty of a Fine of Three Thouſand Livres, and of loſing their Offices.

This Day the Sheriffs being aſtoniſh'd at the Increaſe of the Mortality, and the deplorable State the City is in, and longing for an Anſwer to the Diſpatches they have ſent to Court for neceſſary Supplies, write to the Marſhal *de Villars*, moſt earneſtly beſeeching him to ſecond their Inſtances: That Illuſtrious Governor, who among all the Towns of his Government of *Provence*, has conſtantly honoured *Marſeilles* with his particular Affection, is ſo concerned to hear of the extreme Deſolation it is in, that he returns Anſwer, He is reſolved to come himſelf to its Relief, if his Royal Highneſs will give him Leave.

The 6th, the Sheriffs find themſelves reduced to the moſt terrible of all Extremities; the laſt Slaves which the Officers of the Gallies had granted, at the Requeſt of the firſt Preſident, being all either dead, or fallen ill of the Diſtemper; and notwithſtanding all the Efforts M. *Mouſtier* had made the preceeding Days, to get all the dead Bodies poſſible carried off, above Two Thouſand ſtill remaining in the Streets, beſides what are in the Houſes; they ſee plainly, that if the Officers of the Gallies will not give them more Slaves, at the rate the Mortality goes on, there muſt be in leſs than Eight Days above Fifteen Thouſand Bodies in the Streets all putrified; from which will enſue a Neceſſity of quitting the Town, and abandoning it perhaps for ever, to the Putrefaction, Poiſon, and Infection which will ſettle in it.

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Hereupon they assemble, with the few Citizens still left, among whom are two Intendants of Health who have not stirred a Foot, M. *Rose* the Elder, and M. *Rolland*. Divers Expedients are debated; some propose, that for disposing of the present dead Bodies, and those to be expected daily, a large Pit should be opened in every Street to throw them into: But two things are objected; one is, that such Pits cannot be dug in the Streets, without cutting off, at the same time, all the Conduit-Pipes which are laid through them; the other is, that it would require above Ten Thousand Men to dig speedily so many Pits in so vast a City, while there is none to be found in a Condition to work; besides, no body would dig in Streets actually strewed with infected Bodies, for fear of catching the Infection by touching them. Others propose, to let all the Bodies lie where they are, in the Streets, the publick Places, and the Houses, and there to cover them with Lime to consume them; and that such a Quantity of Lime be carried in Carts, and laid in Heaps in every Street, as may serve to consume all the dead Bodies that shall be there. But to this likewise there are several Objections; Where is Lime enough to be had for consuming so many Bodies? Where are Men to help to cart it? And who could stay in the City amidst the horrible Infection which those Bodies would exhale, as they are consuming?

The Course the Sheriffs think best to take, is, without passing any Resolution, to desire the Citizens assembled with them, to accompany them, in their Hoods, and in a Body, to the House of M. *de Ranes*, to intreat him with all Earnestness, to grant them the Assistance they want for the Preservation of the City.

M. *de*

M. *de Rancé* calls together M. *de Vaucreſſon* the Intendant, and the General Officers of the Gallies; they appear to be touched as much with the Zeal of theſe Magiſtrates, and with the burthenſome and hazardous Conditions upon which they ask this Aſſiſtance, as with the great Extremity the City is in; accordingly they grant them all they demand on thoſe Conditions; and being deſirous to have the Agreement put into Writing, I drew up before them the following Act to be entred in the Regiſter of the Town-Houſe, and a Copy of it to be given to them.

This Day, the Sheriffs, Protectors, and Defenders of the Privileges, Liberties, and Immunities, of this City of Marſeilles, *the King's Counſellors, Lieutenants-General* de Police, *being aſſembled in the Town-Houſe, with ſome of the municipal Officers, the Counſellor Orator of the City and the King's Puocurator* de la Police, *and other eminent Citizens; and taking into Conſideration, that though the* 260 *Slaves, which the Officers of the Gallies have been pleaſed to grant them at different Times, to bury the Dead ſince the City was afflicted with the Plague, have been extremely helpful to them hitherto, yet that Aſſiſtance is inſufficient, above* 2000 *dead Bodies having actually lain in the Streets ſeveral Days, and cauſing a general Infection; it was therefore reſolved, for preſerving the City, to deſire greater Aſſiſtance: And immediately the Sheriffs going out in their Hoods, accompanied by all the ſaid municipal Officers and eminent Citizens, went in a Body to the Houſe of the Chevalier* de Rancé, *Lieutenant-General, commanding his Majeſty's Gallies, and repreſented to him, that the City has infinite Obligations to him for the ſignal Services which he has been pleaſed to do them in this Calamity; but that it is not poſſible to preſerve the City, unleſs he does them the favour to grant them a Hundred Slaves more,*

more, and 4 Officers of the Whistle (or Boatswains) (almost all those who have formerly been granted, being dead or sick;) in which Case they will make the best Use of them; that to engage them to work with the greater Diligence in carrying off the dead Bodies, they will expose themselves as they have already done; will march on Horseback in their Hoods, before the Carts, and go with them all over the City: That moreover, it being of Importance, that their Authority should be supported by Force, at a time when there remains in the City only a numerous Populace, who must be kept under, for preventing all Tumult, and for maintaining good Order every where; they further intreat him most earnestly to grant them at least Forty stout Soldiers of the Gallies, to obey their Orders, to attend them, and at the same time hinder the Slaves from getting away; that they shall be commanded by themselves only; that they will divide them into 4 Parties, of which each Sheriff will head One; and it being necessary that one of the Sheriffs, at least, should be continually at the Town-House, for the Dispatch of such Affairs as may occur, one of the said Parties shall be commanded by the Chevalier Rose; and in Case they should be hindred by any Accident, they will propose in their Room, Commissaries of the best Distinction they can find, to head and command them. Whereupon the Chevalier de Rancé, being assembled with the Intendant and General Officers of the Gallies, all sensible of the miserable Condition of this great and important City, and willing to grant all that is necessary for saving it, have been pleased to grant to the Sheriffs, and to the Community, a Hundred Slaves more, and 40 Soldiers, among them 4 Corporals, with 4 Officers of the Whistle; and it being necessary to take those who are voluntarily disposed, and to engage them by Rewards, to this dangerous Service; It is resolved and agreed, that besides Subsistance which the Community shall furnish

to

to them all, ten Livres a Day shall be given to each Officer of the Whistle, and to each Soldier fifty Sols: And after it shall please God to deliver the City from this Visitation, a Gratification of a hundred Livres, to be paid at once, shall be made to each of them who shall then be living. The Corporals shall have each a hundred Sols a Day, and also an annual Pension for Life of a hundred Livres to each of them who shall survive; it being judged they cannot be sufficiently rewarded for so important and perillous a Service, This is agreed by the Assembly, in consideration of the present Exigence, and the Necessity of the Time. Concluded at *Marseilles*, the 6th of *September*, 1720. Signed, *Estelle*, *Audimar*, *Moustier*, *Dieudé*, Sheriffs; *Pichatty de Croissainté*, Orator, and the King's Procurator; *Capus*, Keeper of the Records.

The 7th, the Magistrates taking into Consideration, that the Plague being the Instrument of God's Wrath, all the Help of Men, and all the Efforts they resolve to make, will be vain and useless, unless they have Recourse to his Mercy, and seek to appease him; they determine to make a Vow in the Name of the City, to incline him to vouchsafe to deliver it from this cruel Pestilence (as their Predecessors did during the last Plague,) that the Community shall give every Year, for ever, the Sum of 2000 Livres to a House of Charity, to be established by the Title and under the Protection of *Our Lady of Good Help*, for the Reception of poor Girls, Orphans of this City and its Territory.

The 8th, they make this Vow solemnly in the Presence of the Bishop, in the Chapel of the Town-House, where he celebrates Mass.

The same Day having received the Slaves, and the Officers of the Whistle, together with the Soldiers (whose *Corps de Garde* is settled in the great Hall of the *Loge*,) and M. *Moustier* having got in Readiness the Carts, and divided the Slaves into several Brigades, the Sheriffs in their Hoods put themselves each at the Head of one of those Brigades, with a Division or Guard of Soldiers, and go to the Places that are thickest spread with dead Bodies, and where they are most putrefied, with an Intrepidity that astonishes the very

Soldiers, and makes the Slaves work with all their Strength, without fearing the Dangers which they see them so much contemn: They continue this Work daily, from Morning till Night, and the Chevalier *Rose* on Horseback, constantly supplies the Room of that Sheriff who is obliged in his Turn to sit in the Town-House for the ordinary Dispatch of Business: 'Tis a Miracle that they have not all perished, by exposing themselves to Dangers so great, that the forty Soldiers of the Gallies, who accompanied them, have all perished, except four, by their Sides.

The 9th, they send to the Council of *Marine* a Copy of the Act, specifying the Conditions on which the Officers of the Gallies granted those Soldiers, and the Slaves; another to the Marshal *de Villars*, and a third to the Grand Prior.

The 10th, the first President, who is always vigilant to supply their Wants, and who knows that besides Carts, they more need Carters to drive them, sends a Number of both from *Aix*, which are very helpful: The Officers of the Gallies furnish them with twenty five Slaves more, to replace those of the hundred already granted who are become unable to work; and add to them six, who are Butchers by Profession, to serve in the Slaughter-houses of the Town, where all the Butchers being dead, or having deserted, no body is left to kill Oxen and Sheep.

The 11th, there being hardly any Physicians remaining, and fewer Surgeons, the rest having deserted, or perished, their Art not availing them; the first President sends hither M. *Pons* and *Boutellier*, Physicians of the Faculty of *Montpellier*; and M. *Montet* and *Rabaton*, very skilful Master-Surgeons.

The 12th, the Sheriffs are informed that the Commandeur M. *de Langeron*, Commadore of a Squadron of Gallies, and Major-General of the King's Armies, has been nominated by his Majesty Governour of *Marseilles* and its Territory, and that he has received his Commission. Such agreeable and salutary News revives them immediately from all the Sorrow, Dejection, and Consternation they were in; and inspires, not only into them, but into all the other Citizens, and into the

People

People in general, both Sick and Well, no leſs Joy, Pleaſure and Content, than Confidence, new Spirit, and Courage: They think it impoſſible to periſh under ſo worthy a Governour, and the Preſervation of *Marſeilles* is looked upon as certain under his Auſpices and Conduct: The Affection he has always been obſerved to bear to this City, and which he has demonſtrated ſince it became afflicted with the Plague; his having been pleaſed, not only to come and aſſiſt in the Aſſemblies at the Town-Houſe, but to promote very much the giving Aſſiſtance to the City by the Officers of the Gallies (in which naval Body of Forces he is diſtinguiſhed by his Rank, as well as by his Merit and Valour:) His Character ſo long eſtabliſhed, his illuſtrious Name, his Preſence, which by a happy Mixture of Sweetneſs and Gravity makes him at once reſpected, loved, and feared; his Wiſdom and Foreſight, his Courage, his Firmneſs; Virtues, which qualify and diſpoſe him to chuſe the beſt Expedients in preſſing Occaſions, and execute with Rigour what he has judiciouſly reſolved; all this, I ſay, gives every body, and particularly the Sheriffs, the moſt promiſing Hopes, which in the Event were ſoon anſwered: They go in their Hoods, and in a Body, to his Houſe, to have the Honour to make him a Tender of their Duties.

They learn at the ſame time, that the Marqueſs *de Pilles* (who has newly begun to recover his Health) has alſo received a Commiſſion to command in the City and Territory; they go in the ſame manner to his Houſe, to make him the like Compliments: And both their Commiſſions being ſent to be entred in the Regiſter of the Town-Houſe, it appears that M. *de Langeron*, in the Quality of Major-General of the King's Forces, is to take place, and command in Chief.

The ſame Day, M. *de Langeron* mounts on Horſeback, and comes to the Town-Houſe, to inform himſelf of the State of Affairs, that he might thereupon make the proper Diſpoſitions, and take the neceſſary Meaſures for applying ſpeedy Remedies to preſſing Evils: He is accompanied by the Chevalier *de Soiſſans*, an Officer of the Gallies, whom he has taken to his

Assistance; and who is so ardent for relieving the Town, that he is every Day on Horseback from Morning till Night, running wherever any thing is to be done, and to provide against, or redress, those Inconveniences which appear most insuperable; contemning Danger, and compelling others, by his Example, not to relax or stop; putting in Execution Things seeming the most impossible, with that Activity, Prudence, and indefatigable Zeal, that every thing is done by his Care, and by his Assistance.

The 13th, the Marquess *de Pilles* comes to the Town-House; his Presence, after the Grief and Alarm his Sickness had caused, gives every one unspeakable Pleasure. M. *de Langeron* repairs thither likewise; he never fails to come thither every Day on Horseback, in the Morning and Afternoon, be what Weather it will, and sits generally till eight a Clock at Night; 'tis most frequently after he has taken his Rounds to the Hospitals, the Pits, the Church-yards, and other Places very dangerous to approach, which he will view with his own Eyes, and where he exposes himself without Regard to his Health or Life.

The 14th, the Sheriffs continue to appear constantly, each at the Head of one of the Brigades of Slaves, with the Carts, to set them to work in different Quarters, to take up and carry to the Pits that prodigious Number of dead Bodies, with which the City is filled; and though they take away so many, they find more still, by the Continuance of the Mortality.

But there is one Part, where they have not been able to set foot yet; it is at an Esplanade called *la Tourette*, which lies towards the Sea, between the Houses and the Rampart, from Fort St. *John* to the Church of *Major*: There lie extended about a thousand dead Bodies close to each other, the freshest of which have lain there above three Weeks; so that had they not been infected, the lying so long in a Place exposed to the hot Sun all the Day, might have sufficed to render them contagious: All one's Senses are affected at approaching a Place, whence one smells afar off the contagious Vapours which Exhale from it: Nature shrinks, and the firmest Eyes cannot bear so

hideous

hideous a Sight; those Bodies have no longer any human Form, they are Monsters that give Horror, and one would think all their Limbs stir, the Worms are in such Motion about them.

Nothing however is of more urgent Necessity than to remove these Bodies from that Place; every Moment they are let lye there, furnishes Exhalations which must poison the Air; but how shall they be taken up and carried to the Pits without the Town, which are at a very great Distance? Bodies so putrefied will not hold in the Carts; the Entrails, the Limbs which are loosened at the Joints by the Worms, would run out, or drop off, which would scatter the Plague and Venom quite through the City.

The Chevalier *Rose*, who is good at Expedients, and as industrious as intrepid, goes to the Place, and viewing the Rampart, perceives that two antient Bastions, which about two thousand Years ago stood the Attacks of *Julius Cæsar*'s Army, and are near the *Esplanade* where lye the dead Bodies, tho' they seem to be filled with Earth, are vaulted within, which he discovers at the Foot of one of them through a Hole, which Time has made in a Stone; he presently imagines that no more needs be done, than to take away some Foot of Earth which cover the Vault of each Bastion, to break into that Vault, and finding them quite hollow within down to the Foundation which is level with the Surface of the Sea, nothing is more easy than to cast all those Bodies into them, and then to cover them with as much Earth and Lime as is necessary, to hinder the exhaling of any Infection from them.

This being so judiciously projected, he returns to the Town-house, and tells M. *de Langeron* and the Sheriffs, that he will take upon him to remove all the dead Bodies from *la Tourette*, explains to them his Project, they find it admirable; but to be able to execute it, a greater Number of Slaves must be employed, that it may be done suddenly and at once; it being evident, that no Soul that breathes can hold out above a few Minutes in so noisome a Place, when those Bodies are moved, to be drawn off the Ground and thrown into the Bastions. M. *de Langeron*, who has newly

received

received Orders from Court, to take as many Slaves out of the Gallies as he ſhall judge neceſſary for the Service of the City, promiſes him a hundred for this Enterprize.

The ſame Day the Mortality continues without Decreaſe, and all the ſeveral Pits which had been opened being filled, M. *de Langeron* accompanied by M. *Mouſtier*, and the Chevalier *de Soiſſans*, take a Turn without the City, to ſee what Place will be moſt convenient for opening new ones ſpeedily; and ſome are marked out on the Side of the Gate of *Aix*, of ſixty Foot long and thirty broad: At the ſame time the Queſtion being where to get at leaſt a hundred *Peaſants* to dig them; M. *de Langeron* ſends all his Guards into the Territory, with Orders to the Captains of the principal Quarters to make them come, either willingly, or by Force.

The 15th, he iſſues an Ordinance, commanding all the Intendants of Health, Counſellors of the City, Captains of Quarters, and Commiſſaries of Pariſhes, who have deſerted, to return within twenty four Hours to their Functions, on Pain of Diſobedience.

He ſets forth another, jointly with the Marqueſs *de Pilles* and the Sheriffs, preſcribing all that ought to be done, obſerved, and executed in the Territory, where the Plague makes likewiſe very great Ravages, and has got into all the Quarters.

The 16th, to remove that horrible Infection which is in the Port, by above ten thouſand dead Dogs floating in it, he ſends for the Regulators of the Fiſhermen to the Town-houſe, and Orders them to work with Boats to incloſe them in Nets, and draw them ſo far without the Chain, that the Current of the Water may not bring them in again.

This Day the Chevalier *Roſe*, who the Day before had cauſed the Vaults of the two Baſtions of the Rampart *de la Tourette* to be broken into, and found them hollow to the Foundation as he had foreſeen, having received the hundred Slaves appointed to remove the dead Bodies from that Part, cauſes each of them to tye a Handkerchief dipped in Vinegar about his Head to ſtop his Noſe, and having diſpoſed them in ſuch a manner, as to be able to put all Hands to the Work at once, he

makes

makes them in half an Hour take away all those Bodies, Limbs of which dropped off in carrying, and throw them into the Caverns of those Bastions, which he immediately causes to be filled with Lime and Earth, up to the Level of the Esplanade.

The 17th, the Sheriffs continuing with yet greater Ardour and Zeal, to go each at the Head of a Number of Carts, to see the dead Bodies taken up and carried off, from the several Streets of the Town, which are more and more filled with them; M. *Estelle* has Notice that the Pits which had been filled on the Side of *la Major*, had cleft in the Night; he hastens thither to see them repaired, and takes with him the Peasants who were working at the new Pits without the Gate of *Aix*: But there's no governing the Peasants at approaching infected Places, the Soldiers of the Gallies who accompany them drive them on, but they give back; he takes a Pick-ax himself and falls to work to encourage them; they are not to be stimulated by his Example, the Soldiers are, they instantly lay down their Arms, wrest the Pick-ax out of his Hands, take each of them one from those dastardly Peasants, and repair the Pits, notwithstanding the Infection, with inexpressible Ardour: It is Pity all those Soldiers perished, they served the City with a Zeal which will make them always lamented.

This Day M. *Audimar* causes a Heap of Bodies, which were piled up in the Street of *Ferrat*, and were no less putrid than those of *la Tourette*, to be carried off.

M. *de Langeron* studying to relieve the Necessities of the People, who are in want of all Things, and who suffer and even perish by the Desertion of almost all the Surgeons, Apothecaries, Retailers of common Necessaries, as Cooks and others, whose Shops and Stalls are generally shut up every where; he publishes an Ordinance to compel them to return within twenty four Hours precisely, on Pain of Death.

The same Day the Physicians of *Montpellier* who had come in the Month of *August*, to examine by Order of his Royal Highness, the Nature and Symptoms of the Distemper, come again, accompanied by M. *Soulliers* Master

Master Surgeon to the King, who was also with them the first time; after their Departure from hence, they had resided at a Country-house near *Aix* which had been appointed for them to perform Quarantain in, which done they were to have been admitted into *Montpellier*; but his Royal Highness being desirous to succour *Marseilles*, and judging that such a Distemper required the most eminent and skilful Physicians, was pleased to send them new Orders to return hither, and join with them M. *Deidier* another famous Physician and Professor of *Montpellier*, who arrived with them.

The Plague had till then been treated as the Plague, the Sick presently judged of the Danger of their Sickness by the Behaviour of the Physicians who visited them: M. *de Chicoyneau*, Chancellor of the University of *Montpellier*, M. *Verny*, and M. *Deidier*, give them Reason to believe, on the contrary, that 'tis of all Distempers the least dangerous and the most common; they approach them without the least Concern or Mark of Emotion, without Repugnance, without Precaution; they even sit down upon their Beds, touch their Buboes and Sores, and stay by them calmly as long as is necessary to inform themselves of the State of their Case, the Symptoms of their Distemper, and to see the Surgeons perform the Operations they order: They go every where, and pass through all the Quarters, they examine the Sick, in the Streets, in the publick Places, in the Houses, and in the Hospitals; one would think them invulnerable, or tutelar Angels sent by God to save every poor Creature's Life; they refuse the Money the Rich offer them; nor receive any thing from any body, but a thousand Blessings from all; their Manner of proceeding, with the Reputation of their Names, recover the Sick by the Hope and Confidence they raise in them.

The 18th, another Pit is opened, below the Ramparts between the Gate of *Aix* and the Tower of St. *Paule*, sixty Foot long and thirty broad: M. *de Langeron* wrote the Day before to the Captains of the Territory, to send in Peasants: The Chevalier *de Soissans* goes at Day break to the Entrance of the Suburbs, to conduct them to this Work, which they were extremely averse to, because of the Nearness of other Pits already filled thereabouts.

New

New ones are also opened on the Side of that Ground, by which the Church-yard of the Parish of St. *Ferriol* was formerly enlarged; this Quarter is the finest and best Inhabited of the City, where M. *Serre*, no less a good Citizen than a famous and excellent Painter, one of the Commissaries appointed there, zealous even to the Sacrificing of his own Life for the Relief of his Country, has taken upon himself alone the laborious and perillous Care to see carried off and buried, the dead Bodies from thence, with some Carts which the Sheriffs have given him, and a Brigade of Slaves put under his Direction by the Officers of the Gallies, whom he carefully subsists and lodges at his own Expence. A Citizen that so loves his Country, deserves to be beloved by it.

The 19th the Desertion from the City continuing, so that none can be found to carry into the Store-houses of the Community the Corn brought up by Boats from the Barrier of *Lestaque*, M. *de Langeron* appoints for that Service twenty six Gally-Slaves, with four of their Companions to dress Victuals for them; no Persons being found fit to be put to do so much as that.

The time of Vintage approaching, it is considered that the Vapours of the new Wine, in a Town where so prodigious a Quantity is made, might contribute very much towards dis-infecting the Houses; and it is called to mind that it was by this Means the last Plague which afflicted *Marseilles* was stopt: Whereupon an Ordinance is issued, in the Names of M. *de Langeron*, the Marquess *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs, importing that the Vintage shall be got in as usual.

This Day arrive three other Physicians of the Faculty of *Montpellier*, who came Post from *Paris* by Order of his Royal Highness, *viz.* M. *Mailhes* Professor of the University of *Cahors*, M. *Boyer de Paradis* of *Marseilles*, and M. *de Læbadie*, accompanied by two Master-Surgeons of *Paris*: They are provided with excellent Instructions, which they received from M. *Chirac* first Physician to his Royal Highness, and

Sur-Intendant of the Royal Phyſick-Garden, who has not neglected any thing that might be for the Relief of this unfortunate City : Phyſicians ſo well choſen, and ſo well inſtructed, cannot fail of doing good Service; the Event will ſoon ſhew it.

The 20th, there are no Medicines nor Drugs to be found in the City, by Reaſon of the Flight and Deſertion of all the Apothecaries, Druggiſts, and Grocers; the Sick dye without being able to uſe the Liberty of making their Wills, the Royal Notaries having all fled; Women with Child are delivered without any Aſſiſtance, the Midwives being all fled likewiſe : An Ordinance at my Inſtance is iſſued by M. *de Langeron*, the Marqueſs *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs, to oblige them all to return within twenty four Hours on Pain of Death : The Royal Notaries only obey readily. The ordinary Term of letting or quitting Houſes being *Michaelmas-Day*, and almoſt all the Houſes being infected, it would be dangerous to ſuffer ſuch removing with Houſhold-Goods moſtly infected; another Ordinance forbids it, till it be otherwiſe ordered.

The 21st, the Sheriffs have an Increaſe of Care and Trouble; the Perſons who for a long time had the Direction and Management of the Office of Plenty of Corn, and of the Shambles, dye of the Plague ; this obliges the Sheriffs to take that Buſineſs upon themſelves, while they have ſo much already upon their Hands : M. *de Langeron*, to facilitate their going through with it all, perſuades them to take each a certain part of the Work : Accordingly, M. *Eſtelle* is charged with the Diſpatch of all the current Affairs at the Town-Houſe, with the Correſpondences, and with the Orders for the good Government of the City; M. *Audimar* with the Shambles; M. *Mouſlier* with all that relates to the carrying off and burying of the Dead, the Pits, and the Church-yards, the cleaning of the Streets, the Carts, the Gally Slaves and their Subſiſtance; and M. *Dieudé* with what relates to Bread-Corn, Meal, Wood for firing, and the Bakers.

The

The 22d, new Pits are to be made, M. *de Langeron* ſends his Guards into the Territory, to bring in one hundred and fifty Men to dig them; and the 23d one is opened of one hundred thirty two Foot long, forty eight wide, and fourteen deep, in the Garden of the Obſervantines near the Ramparts.

The 24th, at the Time when Miſery and Calamity are at the Heighth; when all is groaning, lamenting, dying, as well in the Country, as in the Town; when thoſe whom the Fury of the Diſtemper has ſpared, are overtaken by Famine, and fall into Deſpair, more cruel and terrible than the Plague it ſelf; when the Fountains of Charity, which had run till now, are dried up; when, as the Scripture expreſſes it, *the Heavens ſeem to be of Braſs, and the Earth of Iron*; and when no Hope at all remain'd, but of Dying; 'tis then a charitable Hand extends it ſelf from afar to this unhappy City.

The 25th, the Heaps of infected Cloaths and Houſhold-Goods, with which all the Streets are incumbered, being a greater hindrance to the paſſing through them, than the dead Bodies and Sick that lye in them; Monſ. *de Langeron* ſets twenty five Gally-Slaves to work, to carry all off in Carts, and twenty others to cleave Wood for Firing, for the Uſe of the Bakers; no other Hands being to be had.

The Refractorineſs of the Apothecaries, Druggiſts, and Grocers, in abſenting themſelves from the City, and the Neceſſity of compelling them to return, that the Sick may be ſupplied with Medicines and Drugs, oblige him to ſend Guards into the Territory, to ſeize and bring away the chief of them.

The 26th, the Hoſpital of Timber-work in the Alleys of the *Grand Mall*, and which ſo many Poor infected, who lie in the Streets and publick Places, have been wiſhing for ſeveral Days, is upon the Point of being finiſhed, after incredible Labour; when a North Wind, the moſt violent that ever was, blows ſo hard,

 that

that it breaks and throws down almoſt all the Timber-work, with the Sail-cloth that covered it: For repairing ſpeedily this Damage, M. *de Langeron* goes thither, ſends for robuſt and ſerviceable Fellows from the Gallies, with Officers to keep them diligently employed; the Sheriffs beſtir themſelves to provide more Timber and Sail-cloth; all Hands are at Work; the Chevalier *de Soiſſans* keeps upon the Spot, to encourage the Men, and give Orders, accompanied by M. *Marin* and *Beauſſier*, Commiſſaries appointed to act as Directors General of this Hoſpital, who ſacrificed their Time and private Concerns to ſee it built, were always active in any thing that was moſt toilſome; and the principal Aſſiſtants of the Sheriffs, from the Time the Fear of the Contagion made every body abandon them.

The 27th, it is conſidered, that as large as this Hoſpital is, it cannot ſerve for ſuch a Multitude of Sick, as are lying in all the Streets, and encreaſed daily by the Continuance of the Diſtemper; and therefore another muſt be timely thought of: After looking about every where, it is reſolved to make uſe of the Hoſpital General *de la Charité*, which is in perfect Readineſs, actually furniſhed with near 800 Beds, and all neceſſary Utenſils.

The Difficulty is, whither to remove the Poor maintained in it: No Place ſeems ſo proper as the *Hôtel-Dieu*, where there is Room enough; but there have been infected Patients in it, and above fifty are ſo now; they muſt be firſt removed, and the Houſe diſinfected (or perfumed;) thoſe Patients are carried to a Chapel of the *Penitents*, which is hard by; and M. *Eſtelle* performs the Diſinfection with all requiſite Exactneſs.

From the 28th of *September* to the 3d of *October*, nothing but Action and Labour Night and Day. At the *Mall* no Time is loſt to repair the Damage done by the Wind, and to provide for ſuch an Hoſpital the infinite Number of Things neceſſary in it; in fitting up Apartments and Laboratories for the Phyſicians, Apothecaries,

thecaries, Surgeons, Officers, and Servants of the Hoſpital, in the Convent of the Reformed *Auguſtines*, which is contiguous to it, and in the neighbouring *Baſtides*; and in digging near it large and deep Pits: At *la Charité*, thoſe already opened in the Garden of the *Obſervantines* are juſt behind it; but for that Hoſpital, it was found to require more Trouble than the other to provide it with all Neceſſaries. The Pains taken to diſinfect the *Hôtel-Dieu*, remove from thence the infected Patients, and bring into it all the Poor from *la Charité*, are inconceivable: M. *de Langeron* is obliged to be on Horſeback from Morning to Night, moving from Place to Place; the Sheriffs give themſelves no Reſpite, but ſhorten the common Time of Meals, that they may not loſe a Moment. Every thing is hard to be got, even Straw to ſtuff the Mattreſſes, which no body will bring in from the Territory, without being compelled to it by Force. Officers and Servants muſt be ſought for all theſe Hoſpitals; eſpecially a great Number of Surgeons muſt be had, both Maſters and Men; they cannot be drawn hither from other Provinces, but by exorbitant Rewards; Advertiſements are affixed every where, promiſing to all Surgeons who will come, *viz.* to Maſter-Surgeons of Principal Towns 2000 Livres a Month; to the licenſed Surgeons of thoſe Towns, and the Maſter-Surgeons of ſmall Places 1000 Livres a Month; and to their Apprentices, or Journeymen, 300 Livres a Month, with the Freedom of the Company of Surgeons of *Marſeilles*; beſides Lodging and Diet all the time they are employed.

The 3d of *October*, Part of the Troops which M. *de Langeron* expected for the Service of the City, and to execute his Orders, arrive; *viz.* Three Companies of the Regiment of *Flandres*, whom he cauſes to encamp at the *Chartreuſe* without the Walls.

The 4th, the two new Hoſpitals at the *Mall* and *la Charité*, are, at length, in a Condition to receive the Sick; and immediately they creep thither from all Quarters. A Number of Gally-Slaves is employed to fetch thoſe who cannot help themſelves, and are lying

ing in the publick Places and Streets, and in the Houſes.

The 5th, all the Phyſicians, as well Strangers, as of the Faculty in this City, are convened at the Town-Houſe, in the Preſence of M. *de Langeron*, the Marqueſs de *Pilles*, and the Sheriffs; and M. *de Chicoyneau* and *Verny*, as Principals, and thoſe others to whom the general Inſpection is committed, appoint the Stations where each ſhall ſerve, and the Surgeons to be employed under them. If all the Strangers have ſignalized themſelves by their Skill and Zeal, thoſe of the City have equall'd them in both; they have ſerved with ſo little Care of their own Perſons, that three of them have loſt their Lives, M. *Peiſſonel*, *Montagnier*, and *Audan*, and a fourth, Mr. *Bertrand*, was very near Death's Door.

The 6th, three of the Captains of the City dying, the Sheriffs nominate in their Room M. *Deſperier*, *Bonnaneau*, and *Icard*, who from the Beginning of the Contagion have voluntarily gone upon any Service, however toilſome and hazardous, for the City.

The 7th, the Plague being more violent in the Territory than in the City, and it being of Importance to hinder the Sick to come from thence into it; M. *de Langeron* poſts at each Gate a *Corps de Garde* of Soldiers of the King's Troops, under the Command of the Captains and Officers of the Town; and publiſhes an Ordinance, which preſcribes the Rules to be obſerved at any Perſon's coming into, or going out of the Gates.

The 8th, whereas ſince the two new Hoſpitals have been opened, the Sick are no longer lying about the Streets, and the dead Bodies are carried off daily, by the great Number of Carts which are continually paſſing; Diſpoſitions are made for cleaning the Streets throughout the City, as well for making Room to paſs, as to take away the horrible Infection cauſed by the prodigious Quantity of Filth and Naſtineſs, with which they

they are all covered. For this Purpose large Boats, used for cleansing the Port, by taking up the Soil, are placed all along the Key at each Pallisade; and while the Sheriffs go each through a Quarter with a Brigade of Gally Slaves, to cause all the Heaps of infected Cloaths and Houshold-Goods, which have been thrown out of the Windows, to be burnt; other Brigades of Slaves go with Carts, to take up the Dunghills and Filth, which they shoot into those Boats, and these carry it out, and throw it into the Sea, as far as they can from the Mouth of the Port: This is so tedious a Work, that be it followed never so close, it will take up a Month at least to finish it.

The 9th, the Sheriffs receive News that fills them with Joy and Consolation; they find by a Letter which the Consuls of *Avignon* are so kind to write to them, that the common Father of the Faithful *Roman* Catholicks, moved at hearing of the Calamities of a City, which was the first of all *Gaul* that received the Catholick Faith, by St. *Lazarus* its first Bishop; which in all Times has preserved it in its Purity, no Heresy having ever been able to get footing in it; and which has always had a singular Attachment, with a profound and inviolable Respect, for the Holy See; has not thought it enough to order publick Prayers in all the Churches of *Rome*, and Processions, at which his Holiness assists on Foot, to beseech the Sovereign Father of Mercies to appease his Wrath against *Marseilles*, and cast away the dreadful Scourge which lays it desolate; but being desirous to succour so many miserable Poor as are in it, and supply them with Bread in their Need, has caused to be bought up in the District of *Ancona* two thousand Measures (called *Roubies)* of Bread-Corn, which will be forthwith brought hither by Vessels that are to take it in at *Civita-Vecchia*, to be distributed to the Poor in such Proportions as the Bishop shall allot.

The 10th, the Canons of the Collegiate Church of St. *Martin*, having Benefices with Cure of Souls, persisting to absent themselves from their Duty, notwithstanding the several Admonitions signified to them, the Bishop

Bishop pronounces Sentence, and, conformably to the Petition of the Sheriffs of the 4th of *September* last, declares their Benefices vacant, and that they shall be filled with others duly qualified; and he nominates to them accordingly.

The 11th, there are in the Hospitals several Patients who have the Happiness to recover of the Plague: A Place is necessary for these to be removed to, where they may stay forty Days after their Buboes and Sores are entirely cured and healed up; it is resolv'd to make use of the grand Infirmaries for this Purpose; they must be made ready, and provided with all Things necessary: M. *de Langeron* goes thither, with M. *Estelle*, and Orders are given for doing it out of hand.

The 12th, more Troops arrive for the Service of the City; *viz.* Three Companies of the Regiment of *Brie*, which M. *de Langeron* causes to encamp at the *Chartreuse*, with the three others already there.

The 13th, 14th, and 15th, while the Infirmaries are getting ready for those who are recover'd from the Plague, he sends Orders into the Territory, to compel those Intendants of Health, who have absented themselves, and several other Municipal Officers, whose Service is absolutely requisite in the City, to return.

The 16th, he posts a *Corps de Garde* of thirty Soldiers by the Town-House, to guard the Sheriffs, and execute Orders.

The 17th, it is resolved to send into the Infirmaries, not only those who have recovered in the several Hospitals, but likewise all those who wander about the City with their Buboes broke and running, and communicate the Contagion generally to those who, not knowing their Condition, have the Misfortune to touch or approach them.

The 18th, the Difficulties which obstruct the putting the Infirmaries intirely into Order; or closing up the Sides of the Market-House, which are open; Timber, Boards,

Boards, and Sail-Cloth being not to be had; make it neceſſary to ſeek ſome other Place, which is already in proper Order; ſuch appears to be the College of the Fathers *de l'Oratoire*, the Halls of which are capable of harbouring a great Number of Perſons; and Lodgings for the Officers, Surgeons, and Servants, are ready in the reſt of the Houſe, which is quite empty by the Flight of thoſe Prieſts.

The 16th, the Grand Clauſtral Prior (*i. e.* he that reſides, and keeps the Monks to their Duty) of the Abbey of St. *Victor*, and two Monks deputed from that Chapter, come to the Town-Houſe to juſtify themſelves upon their Refuſal to carry in Proceſſion the Shrines and Reliques of their Church, to the Square of the *Loge*. The Continuance of the Contagion, notwithſtanding all the Efforts hitherto made to ſtop it, leaving no Hope, but in the Mercy of the Almighty through the Interceſſion of the Saints, the Sheriffs reſolved to deſire the Biſhop to cauſe all the Shrines of Saints, and all the Reliques of the Church of *Major* to be brought forth, and to accompany them to the Square of the *Loge*, where they deſign'd to erect a great Altar, on which to place them in open View, and likewiſe to deſire the Monks of the Abbey of St. *Victor*, to bring out at the ſame Time all the Shrines and Reliques of their Church, and to accompany them to the ſame Place, where being all ranged together on the ſame Altar, the Biſhop was to celebrate Maſs, and all the Prayers preſcribed againſt the Plague were to be ſaid. The Biſhop inſtantly agreed to it, with all the Joy and Satisfaction which the Piety that animates him could raiſe: M. *de Langeron* had given the moſt proper Orders, for preventing any Crowd, or even any Communication, at this Holy Proceſſion; nothing remained, but to diſpoſe the Monks of the Abbey of St. *Victor* to perform their Part: M. *Eſtelle* went, and moved it to them; they conſent, but on Conditions utterly impracticable: They demand, either that two Altars ſhould be erected, or that the Biſhop ſhould not celebrate Maſs, leſt their Privileges ſhould receive ſome Diminution by it. And their Grand Prior Clauſtral, with two Monks of the Abbey, come

to Day to the Town-houſe, to have it underſtood that their Reaſons were ſolid, and not Pretexts.

The 20th, no Bell having been rung in the Town ſince the Contagion, not even that which warns the Soldiers and Townſmen to retire to their Houſes and Quarters at Night, M. *de Langeron* orders it to be rung as formerly.

The 21ſt, he orders the Officers of the City to go the Rounds punctually in all the Quarters, with the Number of Soldiers appointed by him.

The 22d and 23d, the Priſons being filled with Malefactors, and the Effects of a vaſt Number of Houſes being expoſed to Robbery, by the Death of all the Perſons who inhabited them; he ſends Orders into the Territory, to oblige the Commiſſaries *de Police* to return, to bring to Tryal thoſe Malefactors, and to ſecure thoſe Effects for the lawful Claimants.

The 24th M. *de Langeron*, the Marqueſs *de Pilles* and the Sheriffs, publiſh an Ordinance at my Inſtance, commanding all thoſe who have taken into their Poſſeſſion the Keys of Houſes, or the Effects of Perſons deceaſed, or who have had them put into their Hands in Truſt, of what Nature ſoever they are, to appear within twenty four Hours at the Town-Houſe, and make Declaration thereof before the Commiſſaries *de Police*, that the ſame may be properly ſecured.

The 25th another Ordinance is iſſued for the Publick Safety and Health, importing, that for preventing Robberies in the Night, and the Increaſe of the Contagion by removing from one Place to another infected Apparel, thoſe who after ringing the warning Bell at Night ſhall be taken robbing Houſes, or removing Apparel, or Houſhold Goods, ſhall be puniſh'd with Death; and that thoſe who ſhall have forbidden Arms found upon them, ſhall be condemn'd to the Gallies.

The

The 26th, tho' the Plague seems to have decreased, want of Provisions increases; the Distemper having got into the neighbouring Places, and even into the Capital of the Province, hardly any Corn or other Necessaries are brought any longer to the Markets at the Barriers; even all the Barriers are chang'd and remov'd so far off, that they are out of reach, and *Marseilles* is in the greatest Extremities that it ever felt. M. *de Langeron* and the Sheriffs see the Necessity there is, for avoiding a speedy Famine, to send Vessels to divers Parts to fetch Bread-Corn, and other Provisions; but having neither Money nor Means to procure any, they are obliged to send Dispatches to Court for Supplies.

The 27th the Hospitals of the *Mall*, of *La Charité*, and of the *Rive Neuve*, being by the Decrease of the Distemper more than sufficient to hold all the Sick; and that *des Convalescens* being become altogether superfluous, it is resolv'd to make Use of it for those who have recovered, and not of the College *de l' Oratoire*, as was design'd.

The 28th and 29th are spent in putting it in Order and Furnishing it with new Beds, after all the Sick who were in it had been remov'd to the Hospital at the *Mall*.

The 30th the great Number of Surgeons, as well Masters as others, who are come from all Parts, allur'd by the Advertisements of the 30th of *September*, that had been sent out to be publickly affix'd every where, which promised great Rewards to those that would come and serve; makes it necessary to publish contrary Advertisements, signifying, that the Distemper having happily decreased very much, there is no further Occasion for them.

The 31st, to get together, in Order to confine and put under Quarantain, those who have recovered from the Plague, who with their Buboes broke and running wander about the Streets and infect all whom they

 approach,

approach, the Chevalier *de Soiſſans* finds out a very eaſy Expedient; they are all neceſſitous People who beg about, and do not fail to go wherever Alms are diſtributed daily to all Comers; he orders Soldiers to hide themſelves near the Houſe whither the Biſhop has retir'd; in leſs than half an Hour above five hundred of theſe Beggars flock thither, whom the Soldiers ſurround and carry to the Hoſpital *des Convaleſcens*, where the Surgeons ſearch them, and detain all who ought to be kept there.

The Firſt of *November*, being the Feaſt of all Saints, the Biſhop comes out of his Palace in Proceſſion, accompany'd by the Canons of the Church *des Acoulles*, by thoſe whom he has newly nominated Canons of the Church of St. *Martin*, and by the Parſon and Prieſts of the Pariſh of St *Ferriol*; and chuſing to appear like the Scape Goat, loaded with the Sins of all the People, and like a Victim deſtin'd to expiate them, he walks with a Halter about his Neck, the Croſs in his Arms, and bare-Foot; thus he proceeds by the Ring towards the Gate of *Aix*, where he celebrates Maſs publickly, at an Altar which he had cauſed to be erected; and after a pathetick Exhortation to the People to move them to Repentance, for appeaſing the Wrath of God, and obtaining Deliverance from the raging Peſtilence; he pronounces a ſolemn Conſecration of the City to the ſacred Heart of Jeſus, in Honour of which he had inſtituted a Feſtival to be kept yearly by a Mandate which he caus'd to be read: The Tears which are ſeen running down his Cheeks during this devout Ceremony, join'd to his very moving Expreſſions, excite Compunction in the moſt obdurate Hearts, and every one pierc'd with unfeigned Sorrow cries to the Lord for Mercy: St. *Charles* did the like formerly at *Milan* on the ſame Feſtival of all Saints, when that City was under the Calamity of the Plague; and nothing is wanting to this Imitator of the Zeal, Piety, Charity, and all the Virtues of ſo great a Saint, but the *Roman* Purple which he deſerves, and which a whole People on whom he heaps ſpiritual and temporal Bleſſings, wiſh him from the bottom of their Hearts.

From

From the ſecond to the fifth, M. *de Langeron* with the Sheriffs divide all the Quarters of the Town into new Diſtricts, and appoint at every Diſtrict, containing a certain number of Houſes, a Commiſſary to ſee to the Execution of the ſeveral Orders iſſued, and to prevent whatever may contribute to the Continuance of the Plague, or to its Return.

The 5th, for reſtraining the exceſſive Price of all Proviſions, which is raiſed every Day by thoſe who take Advantage of the general Scarcity, they hold in the Town-houſe an Aſſembly of Merchants and Tradeſmen to ſettle a general Rate; they continue drawing it up the next Day, and the 8th they publiſh an Ordinance forbidding all Shopkeepers, Retailers, and Regraters, to ſell at a higher Price than what is ſpecified in that general Rate, on the Penalty of the Pillory, of Refunding the Money taken, and Confiſcation of the Goods ſold.

From the 6th to the 13th M. *de Langeron* ſends out Orders on all Sides for regulating and relieving all the Quarters of the Territory, where the Plague continues to rage; and the 14th he publiſhes an Ordinance with the Marqueſs *de Pilles* and the Sheriffs, which preſcribes ſuch exact and judicious Precautions to be obſerv'd at the Gates, that the indiſpenſible Commerce between the City and the Territory is maintain'd, and yet the Diſtemper which is there cannot any way be brought into the City, to make that which ſtill continues here rage the more.

The 15th, the Bakers having almoſt ſpent all the Fuel for their Ovens, ſo that they muſt leave off Baking, Veſſels are ſent towards *Toulon* to fetch Wood.

The 16th the Biſhop takes a holy Reſolution to exorciſe the Plague, which he has the Grief to ſee continue: In order to this, having called together the Remains of his Clergy in the Church *des Acoulles*, he begins

gins by causing all the Prayers to be read which his Holiness had sent to him, and which are daily repeated in all the Churches of *Rome*, to incline the Almighty to deliver *Marseilles* from this Scourge; and after a very eloquent and very moving Exhortation, he carries up the Holy Sacrament to the Leads over the Roof of the Church, from whence all the City and its Territory lye open to the View, gives his Benediction, and performs the Exorcism against the Plague, with all the Prayers and Ceremonies which the Church has prescribed.

The 17th, M. *de Langeron* receives an Answer from Court, to the Dispatches he had sent thither: M. *le Blanc*, and M. *le Pelletier des Forts* write to him, that his Royal Highness being extremely concerned at the Calamity of *Marseilles*, had given Orders to the *India* Company to remit hither twenty five thousand Pieces of Eight, and one thousand nine hundred Marks of Silver, with which he is pleased to assist this City, till he can provide for its further Relief: The Marquess *de la Vrilliere* writes the same thing to the Sheriffs, and that his Royal Highness will do all that lies in his Power to succour them: That August Prince has had all possible Regard for this unfortunate City; from the Time he knew of its Distress, he has not neglected sending Orders every where, for supplying it with all necessary Help, as well to cure the Distemper, as to provide against Scarcity and Want: All his Ministers have seconded his Intentions with so much Earnestness and Application, that they seem to have had no other Business upon their Hands, than to hasten its Supplies, and to render them effectual. What Gratitude for this will not Subjects so obedient and so faithful ever cherish in their Hearts? This Gratitude for their Preservation, joined to the Ardour and Zeal which have always distinguished them in the Submission and Obedience due to his Majesty; will inflame them with a Desire to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes, for the Honour and Glory of his Service.

Never was there greater Scarcity, nor ever was such Scarcity so plentifully supplied; so that having been continually

tinually juſt falling into Want, or in fear of wanting every thing, by the Interdiction of Communication and Commerce, we have hardly ever wanted any thing, by Means of the continual Succours which came in ſucceſſively from all Parts, by the Orders of his Royal Highneſs, and the particular Care of M. *le Pelletier des Forts*, and M. *le Blanc*, to cauſe them to be executed: Corn and other Proviſions, and eſpecially large Cattle, and Sheep, have been brought in ſuch Quantity and Numbers, notwithſtanding all Difficulties, that for a long time we have had a kind of Plenty of them; from the Mint at *Aix*, the firſt Preſident has remitted very conſiderable Sums of Money, he has procured all Neceſſaries to be ſent in from divers Parts; he has cauſed almoſt whole Foreſts to be cut down, that we might not want Wood for firing; and not contenting himſelf with procuring Credit for us to a great Sum, he has had the Goodneſs to find Means to diſcharge a conſiderable Part of that Debt; from *Languedoc* the Intendant, M. *de Bernage*, has taken infinite Pains to get ſent hither all the Succours that fertile Province could furniſh.

Several eminent Citizens have contributed very largely; M. *Conſtans* and *Remuſat*, have by their Credit and Money procured twenty thouſand Meaſures (called *Charges*) of Bread-Corn; M. *Martins*, *Grimaud*, and *Beoland*, have voluntarily taken inconceivable Pains to keep the Shambles ſupplied, and with very great Succeſs; ſeveral others have contributed Money for buying up Corn in the *Levant*; even ſome of the Magiſtrates of the Soveraign Courts of the Province, as ſoon as the Plague had broke out, moved by their Generoſity of Heart, and Grandeur of Soul, offered and even ſent in all the Corn that was reaped on their own Lands; ſuch are M. *de Lubieres* and *de Ricardi*, Counſellors of the Parliament, and M. *de Rauville* Preſident of the Court of Accompts, Aids and Finances: We could not periſh with ſo great and various Supplies; but *Marſeilles* and its Territory are an Abyſs; it cannot otherwiſe be filled, than by that prodigious Abundance, which

which Liberty, and the Concourſe of the Commerce of Nations, bring into it.

The 18th M. *Taxil*, Agent of the *India* Company at *Marſeilles*, remits to the Sheriffs one thouſand ſix hundred Marks of *Bullion*, and twenty thouſand and forty nine Marks in Pieces of Eight, which they cauſe to be conveyed to the Mint at *Montpellier*, there to be converted into new Specie.

The 19th the Diſtemper which had extremely decreaſed, having increaſed again a little, and there being Ground to believe that the Communication in ſome Churches which were opened, had occaſioned it, the Biſhop is deſired to be pleaſed to order them to be ſhut up again.

The 20th, 21st, and 22d Veſſels are fitted out to fetch Corn from the *Levant*, that we might not be wholly in want of it this Winter, and after the Plague and Scarcity fall into Famine.

The 23d Advice comes that one of the Veſſels in which his Holineſs's Miniſters had cauſed to be laden at *Civita-Vecchia*, the Bread-Corn deſigned for the Poor of *Marſeilles*, is unhappily wrecked on the Iſland of *Porcherolles*, and that of one thouſand Meaſures it carried, not three hundred could be ſaved.

The 24th and 25th, the Contagion ſtill continuing in the Territory, and the Perſons who live there, or have retired thither, eſpecially thoſe who are ſtruck with it, or ſuſpect they are, uſing all manner of Artifice to ſteal into the City, where the Diſtemper has almoſt intirely ceaſed, M. *de Langeron* eſtabliſhes ſuch proper and exact Precautions, that no Endeavours of that kind can ſucceed.

The 26th he publiſhes an Ordinance, to ſerve for Rules at the Gates, preſcribing the ſeveral Certificates which muſt be brought to obtain Permiſſion to enter, and deſcribing the Condition of Health and other Circumſtances

cumſtances a Perſon muſt be in to be qualified for a Certificate from the Pariſh-Prieſts, Captains, and Commiſſaries.

The 27th he ſends this Ordinance to be publiſhed in the Territory, and with it a circular Letter to all the Pariſh-Prieſts, Captains and Commiſſaries of the Quarters, for their more ample Inſtruction.

The 28th two other Veſſels laden with the reſt of the Bread-Corn given by his Holineſs, arrive at *Toulon*: The Biſhop comes to the Town-houſe, to concert with M. *de Langeron* and the Sheriffs, the Means of getting it brought to this City, whither thoſe Veſſels will not come becauſe of the Contagion.

The 29th, the Difficulty made by the Maſters of Veſſels of *Languedoc*, to come laden with Proviſions to the Port of *Frioul* in the Iſland of *Roteneau*, one of the Iſles of *Marſeilles*, whither the Barrier is removed from *Leſtaque*, becauſe after they have unladen at that Iſland, no Ballaſt is to be had there, without which they cannot ſail empty, and return to their own Ports; this Difficulty, I ſay, obliges M. *de Langeron* and the Sheriffs to ſend for the Regulators of the Fiſhermen to the Town-houſe, and order them to ſee that no Boat goes out to fiſh, till it has firſt carried a lading of Ballaſt to that Iſle of *Roteneau*.

The 30th the Chevalier *Roſe* undertakes for the Execution of this Order; and he ſucceeds ſo well in it, that all the Ballaſt neceſſary for all the Veſſels which may come to that Iſland, is preſently carried thither.

The Firſt of *December* the Hoſpital of the *Rive-Neuve*, governed and directed by the Chevalier *Roſe*, being become uſeleſs, the few Sick remaining in it are removed to that of *la Charité*, and the other is entirely ſhut up: M. *Boyer de Paradis*, one of the Phyſicians who came from *Paris* by Order of his Royal Highneſs, ſerved in it with all the Ardour and Zeal, that the Love of his native Country could inſpire.

From the ſecond to the fifth, Aſſemblies are held, to ſettle all the Diſpoſitions and all the Meaſures neceſſary for purifying and diſ-infecting all the Houſes of the City in which the Contagion has been : A tedious Work, which to be very minutely performed, muſt be as laborious as it is nice and important.

The 6th, the grand Infirmaries having been for ſome time purified, M. *Michel*, a Phyſician of the Faculty of *Marſeilles*, who had been ſhut up in them from the beginning of the Contagion, comes out with the Surgeons he had with him ; he ſerved with a Zeal, Firmneſs, and Succeſs, which make him admired by all.

The 7th, the Intendants of Health aſſemble at the Town-houſe, in the Preſence of M. *de Langeron* and the Sheriffs, to deliberate about purifying all the Veſſels that are in the Port, who had taken in their Cargoes before the Plague broke out ; theſe Intendants (thoſe of them who had abſented being come back long ſince) do their Duty ſo well, that tho' they are obliged to ſerve only by Turns, they generally all act together, hardly any one excuſing himſelf.

The Directors of the Hoſpital-general of *la Charité*, and thoſe of the *Hôtel Dieu*, acquit themſelves alſo of their Duty with the ſame Ardour : The latter even took upon them the Direction of this Hoſpital when it was turned into a Peſt-Houſe, tho' the coming near ſuch a Place gives Diſguſt and makes one tremble : The Zeal among them was ſo extraordinary, that at the beginning of the Contagion, when every Body was running away, M. *Bruno Grainier* was ſeen to quit his own Houſe, and take up his Lodgings in the *Hôtel Dieu*, there to devote himſelf intirely to the Service of the Poor, and endeavour to prevent the Plague's getting into it ; accordingly it never could get in, before it had overthrown this pious *Argus*, and deprived of Life this Example of the moſt fervent and active Charity.

Almoſt

Almoſt all the Municipal Officers, and other Principal Citizens have been come back alſo ſome time; moſt of the Shops of Tradeſmen and Artificers are opened; the People, who in their Fright had loſt all Hope of Health, and all Meaſure of Prudence, are brought to themſelves, and put into Heart again by the Preſence and good Orders of M. *de Langeron*; and every one is at preſent aſſiſting each other by mutual Offices, and by an exact and admirable Adminiſtration of Government; which cutting off all deſtructive Communication, allows only what is ſalutary. As this is but a brief Journal, drawn up in haſte in ſome Moments ſtolen from Buſineſs, the Publick may expect an ample Supplement to it, which ſhall take in ſeveral Things here omitted, and the Services worthy of Notice and Acknowledgment, which ſeveral Perſons have rendred to the City, as well within it, as Abroad; and the Wonders performed by the Surgeons, whom the Court was pleaſed to ſend, and others, ſhall not be forgotten.

The 8th, the Danger of Communication hindring ſtill the Opening of the Churches, the Biſhop orders Altars to be ſet up in the Streets, and Maſs to be ſaid at them in Publick.

This Day M. *de Langeron*, the Marqueſs *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs, publiſh an Ordinance, directing the Commiſſaries of the Quarters and Pariſhes, all they are to do generally, as well for hindring whatever might contribute to the keeping of the Contagion in the Town, or increaſing it by introducing the Diſtemper from Abroad, as for concurring to the great Work ſtill remaining, of diſinfecting all the Houſes.

The 9th, upon Notice that ſeveral Taverns, Victualing-Houſes, Coffee-Houſes, and other like Houſes of Publick Reſort are opened, where People meeting in Crowds, a mortal Communication is to be feared; an Ordinance is publiſhed, at my Inſtance, for their being

all

all ſhut up again, on the Penalty of Impriſonment, and of a Fine of thirty Livres.

This preſent Day (the 10th of *December*) the Diſtemper has ſo abated throughout the City, that no new Patient has been carried into any Hoſpital: There is Ground to hope, that the Wrath of God will be intirely appeaſed; that this miſerable unfortunate City will be wholly delivered from this cruel Viſitation, which has laid it deſolate; and that we ſhall be ſecured from all Returns of it, by the wiſe, exact, and judicious Precautions which M. *de Langeron* takes, in Concert with the Sheriffs, with ſuch indefatigable Zeal, ſuch laborious Aſſiduity, ſuch prudent Vigilance, and ſuch ſingular Application, that the Preſervation of *Marſeilles* cannot but be looked upon as his Work; and its ſurviving Inhabitants will be ever obliged to bleſs his glorious Name, and thoſe of the Sheriffs, who ſecond him ſo well, and do ſo juſtly merit, by the Ardour with which they have expoſed their Lives, the Title of FATHERS OF THEIR COUNTRY.

Done at Marſeilles, *in the Town-Houſe, the* 10th *of* December, 1720.

The E N D.

THE CAUSES OF THE DISCONTENTS, In Relation to the PLAGUE, AND The PROVISIONS againſt it, Fairly Stated and Conſider'd.



LONDON:
Printed for J. ROBERTS near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*, 1721.

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The true Cauſes of the DISCONTENTS, in relation to the PROVISIONS againſt the PLAGUE.

THE Plague and the Approach of it, is a very terrible Conſideration, in the moſt favourable View that the Mind can form of it, and with the beſt Expedients that the Wit of Man can find, to prevent or check it. Whether we are to be ſhut up among infected Perſons within our own Walls, and whole Families are in effect to be put under the Sentence of Death; or whether the infected Member is to be given up, and as it were ſacrificed for the Safety of the reſt; either Way, the Scene is very dreadful, and the Thought of it ſhocking to human Nature. And as it is in all deſperate Caſes, where the Nature of the Diſtemper requires uncommon Methods, and particularly where the Loſs of a Member is to compound for Life; ſo will it be in this: The Hand that adminiſters Help and performs the Operation, will be thought cruel, tho' it be never ſo evident, that nothing but that Cruelty ſtands between us and Death. I will add, That if in extreme Caſes of this kind, Men were left to their own Choice of an Expedient, either to prevent or cure; they would generally chuſe that which is moſt indulgent to the Fears and Weakneſſes of human Nature; that is, the very worſt. Where the Diſeaſe is deſperate, the Remedy muſt be ſo too; and to dwell upon *Rights* and *Liberties*, and the *Eaſe* and *Convenience* of Mankind, in caſe of a ſudden Invaſion, or the Plague hanging over our Heads, is as wild a Way of Reaſoning, as if under a malignant Fever we ſhould inſiſt upon being dealt with in all reſpects like Men in perfect Health; or expect that our Merchandiſes ſhould be preſerv'd as ſacredly in a Storm, as in the gentleſt Gale; or ſhould gravely inſiſt *that our Houſe is our Caſtle*, when the entring and blowing it up is neceſſary to ſtop the Progreſs of a raging Fire.

It is this Weakneſs in the Minds of Men (the not framing and adapting our Thoughts to the real Condition of Things, and, particularly, our reaſoning upon a State of the greateſt Danger becauſe it is not juſt at Hand, as if we were in a

State of the greatest Safety;) that makes us so easily misled in these Cases of Extremity; and to inveigh against our Superiors (what Course soever they take for our Safety) as bringing Hardships and Persecutions upon us; and, which is very natural, to dwell most upon the Inconveniencies of the Scheme that is most thought of and most likely to be executed, and to think any *other* more easy or tolerable.

These are the natural Products of human Frailty and Passion, when they get the better of Reason (as in such unusual Events, and dreadful Prospects, they are very apt to do;) and therefore these are Reproaches which the publick Legislature and Administration in every Country must expect of course, be their Deliberations and Resolutions for the publick Safety, ever so wise and sincere; because some one regular Expedient must be finally pitch'd on, and whatever is pitch'd on, is sure to work most *terribly* upon the Minds of the People.

But it is not to be conceiv'd or imagin'd, that the Passions of Men could be blown up and fomented to such a *Degree* as we have seen of late, without a great Mixture of Uneasinesses of other kinds, preparing them to receive ill Impressions; and without the Help of disaffected or designing Men, who have taken the Advantage of those Uneasinesses, some to run us into publick Confusion, and others to work their own private Revenge, by disgracing Men whom they did not like. Particularly, without great Help from Misrepresentations of *Facts*, and Misconstructions of the *Designs*, as well as *Actions*, of our Superiors, it seems impossible that Mankind should be so far blinded, as to declare it best to have thought of no Provision at all, and (I may add) to reckon the Provision that has been thought of, more terrible than the Plague it self; which yet has been our Case, and I doubt in some measure is so still.

My Design in this Paper, is not directly to enter into the Merits of the Cause, by a nice Enquiry into the *Nature* and *Operation* of the *several Expedients* for preventing the Plague; for, God knows, *every* Expedient, when in our Thoughts we carry it into Execution, is so full of Terror, that it is enough to chill one's Blood to think of chusing *any* of them, if there were not a Necessity of chusing *some one*: But what I aim at, is to quiet the Minds of well meaning People, who have been misled by the Art and Knavery of others; and to let them see, how they have been impos'd upon and blown up to this uncommon Degree of Discontent and Uneasiness,

I. By gross Lies, and Misrepresentations of FACTS.

II. By unjust and uncharitable Suggestions concerning the DESIGNS of Persons.

III. By very false and unjust REASONINGS upon the THINGS themselves. And I doubt not in the least, but I shall attain my end, and free every impartial Mind from all Terrors (except such as necessarily and unavoidably attend so dreadful a Visitation, as the Plague is,) if they, on their part, will be so fair, as not to mix with this Head, their Discontents upon any other (which, how grievous soever in themselves, have not the least relation to this;) and, clearing their Minds from all *foreign Prejudices*, will prepare them to form a just and impartial Judgment upon *this one* Point.

I. As to the first Head (the Lies and Misrepresentaions, which have been spread concerning this Matter;) because I will be very sure, while I am accusing others of Misrepresentation, to stand clear of the same Charge my self; I will give my Reader the three Clauses which have occasion'd so much Clamour, word for word, as they stand in the Act lately repealed.

And

And be it further Enacted, That if any Person infected with the Plague, or obliged to perform Quarentine, shall wilfully refuse or neglect to repair within convenient time, after due Notice for that Purpose given to him, her, or them, by the proper Officer, *to the Ship, House, Lazaret, or other Place duly appointed for him, her, or them; or having been placed in such Ship, House, Lazaret, or other Place, shall escape, or attempt to escape out of the same, whilst he, she, or they shall continue infected, or before Quarentine fully performed respectively; It shall and* may be lawful *to and for the* Watchmen *and other Persons appointed to see Quarentine performed, by any kind of Violence that the Case shall require, to compel every such Person so refusing or neglecting, as aforesaid, and every such Person so escaping, or attempting to escape, as aforesaid, to repair or return into such Ship, House, Lazaret, or other Place so appointed for him, or her, as aforesaid: and every such Person so refusing or neglecting to repair within convenient time after such Notice, as aforesaid, into such Ship, House, Lazaret, or other Place appointed for him, or her, as aforesaid, and also every Person actually escaping, as aforesaid, shall be adjudged Guilty of Felony, and shall suffer Death as a Felon without Benefit of Clergy.*

And be it further Enacted, That if any Person not infected, nor liable to perform Quarentine, shall presume to enter any Ship, House, Lazaret, or other Place so appointed, as aforesaid, whilst any Person or Persons so infected, or being under Quarentine, shall be therein, and shall return, or attempt to return from thence, unless in such Cases, and by such proper Licence, as shall be directed or permitted by such Order or Orders, made or to be made and notified, as aforesaid, It shall and may be lawful *to and for the Watchmen, or other Person appointed to guard or secure such Ship, House, Lazaret, or other Place, so appointed, as aforesaid, by any kind of Violence that the Case shall require, to compel such Person, so returning, or attempting to return, to repair into some Ship, House, Lazaret, or other Place, so appointed, as aforesaid, there to continue and perform Quarentine; and in case such Person shall actually escape out of such Ship, House, Lazaret, or other Place, where he or she shall be so placed for Performance of Quarentine, before he or she shall have fully performed the same, he or she shall be adjudged guilty of Felony, and shall suffer Death as a Felon without Benefit of Clergy.*

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if at any time or times hereafter, any City, Town, or Place within Great Britain, *or* Ireland, *shall be infected with the Plague, it shall and may be* LAWFUL *to and for his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, to cause one or more Line or Lines, Trench or Trenches, to be cast up or made about such infected City, Town, or Place, at a convenient Distance from the same, in Order to cut off the Communication between such infected City, Town, or Place, and the rest of the Country; and to prohibit all Persons, Goods, and Merchandizes whatsoever, to enter, pass, or be carried over such Lines or Trenches, unless in such Cases, and by such proper Licence, and subject to such Regulations and Restrictions for Performance of Quarantine, as shall be directed or permitted by any such Order or Orders, made or to be made and notified, as aforesaid; And in case any Person or Persons being within such Lines or Trenches, or any of them, shall, during the time of such Infection, presume or attempt to come out of the same,* unless in such Cases, and by such proper Licence, and subject to such Regulations and Restrictions for Performance of Quarentine, as shall be directed or permitted by such Order or Orders, made or to be made and notified, as aforesaid; *It shall and may be lawful to and for the Watchmen, or Persons appointed to guard or secure such Lines or Trenches, or any of them, by any kind of Violence that the Case shall require, to compel all and every such Person and Persons to return back within such Lines or Trenches; and in case any Person shall actually come out of such Lines or Trenches, or any of them (unless in such Cases, and by such proper Licence, and subject to such Regulations and Restrictions as aforesaid) every such Person shall be adjudged guilty of Felony, and suffer Death as a Felon without Benefit of Clergy.*

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The proper *Methods* of *Reasoning* upon those three Clauses, and upon this whole Subject of the Plague, shall be stated in their proper place, under the third Head. But as to the truth of *Facts*, which is the Business of this Head; I would ask those who have been led blindfold by designing Men to join in the common Cry, Do they find, in any of these Clauses, a *Dragoon* planted at every one's Door? Do they find a *Knot* of Dragoons appointed to be Keepers of every House that has once been infected? In a Word, Do they find (what has been publish'd with so much Confidence) that none were to be employed in the Execution of that Act, but such as wore red Coats? Nothing like it. The Case in reality is this: Let what Scheme you will, be the Scheme that is pitch'd on, every thing must be done to make it effectual, that shall *then* appear necessary to be done; what will be necessary, no Mortal can tell, till the Time comes, and Expedients are tryed; and for these Reasons the *Powers* of doing must of necessity be *General*. But tho' it cannot be foreseen, what *will* do the Work in every Instance, I can easily foresee what *would not* do it to Satisfaction, in one Instance. Suppose the Plague should begin at *Gravesend*, and spread towards *London* (in which case, the City, it is to be hop'd, would think a Line on that Side very seasonable, and that nothing less could secure them against the desperate Pushes that would be made, to escape from the Part infected;) I dare say, they who are now loudest in the Clamour, would censure it as great Supineness in the Government, if they should trust the guarding of that Line, on which would depend the Fate of so many thousand Lives, to the Care and Courage of a Country Militia, or even of City Train'd-bands.

But that no *Military* Force of any kind was in the *primary* Intention of the Legislature, or design'd to be apply'd at all, except in case of Necessity, and after other Means were found ineffectual; appears evidently from a plain and express Clause in the Act it self; which the Promoters of our Discontents have not thought fit to impart to the People, and that for a very plain Reason, because it would have been a full Confutation of all their malicious Suggestions upon this Head; and, being so, it shall be here inserted at length.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That during the present Infection, and at all Times hereafter, when any foreign Country, or any part of Great Britain *or* Ireland *shall be infected with the Plague, it shall and may be lawful to and for any two Justices of the Peace of any County, Riding, Division, or Liberty next to such Place where any Ship or Vessel shall be performing Quarentine, or wherein any infected Place, or any House, Lazaret, or Place for Performance of Quarentine, shall be situate, or any Lines or Trenches shall be made, as aforesaid, and they are hereby required, from time to time, when any such Town or Place shall be infected with the Plague, or any Lines or Trenches shall be made, as aforesaid, or any Persons, Ships, Goods, or Merchandizes infected, or obliged to perform Quarentine, shall be put in any House, Lazaret, or other Place for Performance of Quarentine, To order the* Inhabitants of such and so many Parishes, Townships, Vills, or Extraparochial Places about the same respectively, as they shall judge necessary; *and such Inhabitants are hereby required, in pursuance of such Orders, upon Notice thereof, to keep sufficient* Watches by Day and Night *upon such Town or Place so infected, and upon such Lines and Trenches made, as aforesaid, and upon such Houses, Lazarets, Ships, or other Places for Performance of Quarentine, for such Time, in such Manner, and with such Numbers of Watchmen at every Place, as the said Justices, by their said Order, shall direct and appoint.*

And it is further provided by a subsequent Clause, *That the* Watches *by this Act before directed to be kept, shall be maintained at the Charges of the* County *or* Riding, *wherein such Watches shall be respectively kept.*

2. Among

2. Among the Misrepresentations of Fact, is also to be mention'd The forcible removing of whole Families out of their Houses to perform Quarentine, in case any Member of it has been infected with the Plague; which we have heard affirm'd and propagated with the greatest Confidence; and yet it appears not to me to have any Foundation in the Act. That no Persons *within* the Lines, or belonging to any infected House, or entring such House, should be permitted to cross the Lines, or come abroad among their Neighbours, till they have submitted to proper Proofs that themselves are clear of the Plague; all this is certainly no more than a just and prudent Care of the sound Part, and a necessary Expedient to hinder the spreading of the Infection. But that any Person uninfected, who should *chuse* to keep within the Lines, or within his own House, was to be *forcibly* remov'd to a place of Quarentine, appears not upon the Face of the Act. And if it were possible for the Art of a Lawyer to *strain* such an Inference from the Act, as I verily believe it is not; I would then appeal from that Art, to the common Sense and Reason of Mankind, whether any Words can be found in the Act, that will *fairly* support such an Inference. It has been charg'd upon the Legislature as a Crime; and certainly (like all other Crimes) it ought to be clearly *proved*, before it is *imputed*.

Before I shut up this Head, I must take Notice of one Representation more, which tho' not directly false, is very partial; and that Partiality employed on purpose to give frightful and odious Colours to a thing, which, when the whole Truth is known, appears not only innocent, but wise. To make the drawing of Lines more terrible to the People, by Ideas of *Absolute Confinement*, and *Famine*, and the like; it has been represented to them, that no Person, how clear soever of the Plague, was allow'd on any terms to pass the Lines, nor Provisions to be convey'd to them without the greatest Difficulty. Whereas, by the express Words of the Act, the Direction against crossing the Lines is temper'd by this prudent Exception, *Unless in such Cases, and by such proper Licence, and subject to such Regulations and Restrictions for performance of* Quarentine, *as shall be directed or permitted by any Order or Orders, made or to be made, and notified by the King's Proclamation.* The plain meaning of which is, that if any Person who should be confin'd within Lines drawn cross the Country or round a City or Town, should first give proper Proof of his being uninfected, he should be furnish'd with Certificates of his having given such Proof, and might then be allow'd to cross the Lines, and go where he pleas'd. And as to the point of Provisions, and the probability that any City or Town infected, would be well or ill supply'd by their Neighbours; can any thing be more clear and evident, than that every degree of Care in the Government to keep the Persons infected within certain Bounds, must be a proportionable degree of Encouragement to the Country round, to approach nearer to such City or Town, and to furnish it more freely and constantly with Provisions of all kinds?

3. Another Art to make this Scheme terrible, has been the giving it an odious Name; that it is a FRENCH Scheme, and taken, Step by Step, from *French* Measures, and is calculated only for a Country under *Arbitrary* Government. When, in truth, it is not a Scheme which the *French* chose from any relation it has, in the nature of it, to the Government they are under; but the Scheme which they finally fell into upon evident Experience that others did not succeed: and if they had not fallen into it, in all human Probability the Plague, before this time, had overspread at least one half of that Kingdom, and perhaps this too. If we suffer so much by *French* Folly, may we not be allow'd to gain a little by *French* Experience? When the Plague rages in any Nation, and the Neighbours are under Apprehension of it, and are making the best Provisions they can in case of its coming among them; wou'd any Country upon Earth, but ours, think that they could take a wiser Course, than to make the most exact and diligent Enquiry, what Methods had been us'd, and

which

which of them had been found moſt effectual, in the Country already infected? The ſeparating the Sick from the Sound, as the beſt way of hindering an Infection to ſpread, is the Dictate of common Senſe, confirm'd by univerſal Experience; and, becauſe the *French* act agreeably to common Senſe, are we to renounce it? Give me leave to add, what I verily believe is true, that at leaſt two Thirds of thoſe Men, who have been, and ſtill are, ſo induſtrious in their Endeavours to diſparage this Scheme, are the very Men, who, when time was, were the great Advocates for *French* Counſels, and *French* Meaſures; and whoſe Hearts ak'd at every Advantage we gain'd towards reducing the Power of *France*; a Power, which if it had prevail'd, and theſe Men by Conſequence could have had their Wiſh, was to have brought upon us a much ſorer Plague than what we now fear, I mean, the utter Deſtruction of our Religion and Liberties. Nor, at this day, wou'd they take half the Pains, or run half the Hazards, to keep out one Plague, that they would do to bring in the other.

4. But the greateſt and moſt general Miſrepreſentation of Fact, by which theſe Men have labour'd to inflame the Nation, is, The confounding a *Power* to do, and a *Neceſſity* of doing; their telling the People, that the Act ſays, theſe Things *ſhall* be done, when it only ſays they *may* be done. After they had thoroughly prejudic'd the Minds of Men againſt the Scheme that was offer'd, they knew there would be a great Difference, in the Degrees of Dread and Apprehenſion, between an Evil that *muſt* come, and an Evil that only *may* come; and therefore, in order to finiſh their Work, it was neceſſary to have it believ'd, that this was the Scheme abſolutely *fixed* and *determined* in all the Parts of it; that, which muſt take Place whatever happen'd, and which could neither be changed in the whole, nor receive Addition or Alteration in any Part. Whereas the Act did not *eſtabliſh*, but only *ſuppoſe* the Scheme; as that, which the Legiſlature believed to be the moſt effectual, according to the beſt Judgment they could form, upon a fair Compariſon between this, and any other that had been offer'd or thought of; and in purſuance of that Suppoſition, they veſted ſuch *Powers* in the Prince, as ſeem'd moſt expedient to attain the Ends propos'd. But as the King was put under no *Neceſſity* by thoſe Clauſes of the Act, either to chuſe that Scheme, or execute thoſe Powers, but was left at full Liberty, all the while the Law was in force, to reject either, or both, if they ſhould appear inexpedient; ſo was he, and ſtill is, impower'd by another Clauſe in the ſame Act, to chuſe any other Scheme, or any other Expedients, that ſhall hereafter appear to be me gible.

That Clauſe of general Powers, follows:

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That if at any Time or Times hereafter any City, Town, or Place within Great Britain, *or* Ireland, *or the Iſles of* Guernſey, Jerſey, Alderney, Sark, *or* Man, *ſhall be infected with the Plague, and the ſame, upon Examination, ſhall be made appear to his Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, in Council, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, by and with the Advice of his or their Privy-Council, during the Continuance of ſuch Calamity, to make ſuch Orders and Regulations concerning Quarentine, and the prevention of Infection, as ſhall be neceſſary for the Safety and Preſervation of his or their Subjects, and to notify the ſame by Proclamation; and all and every Perſon and Perſons, Officer and Officers, Civil and Military, whatſoever, ſhall render due and exact Obedience to all ſuch Orders and Regulations ſo made and notified, as aforeſaid.*

The King being veſted with theſe General Powers (which met not with the leaſt Oppoſition in either Houſe of Parliament, ſo far as I have been able to learn;) it would much better become good Subjects, acted by a ſincere Deſire to promote the Safety of the Nation, to propoſe ſome more deſirable Scheme, in a quiet and peaceable

peaceable Way; than to content themselves (as they have generally done) to fly with Fury upon a Scheme that has been already propos'd, without substituting any other in the Place. This Scheme, it is true, had a Right for some time to plead Possession, as that which seem'd most agreeable to the Judgment of the Legislature; but that Right (even while the Act remain'd in full Force,) could last no longer than his Majesty pleased; who in Virtue of the three first Clauses was only *empower'd*, not *oblig'd*; and might, and still may, by Virtue of this last Clause, establish any other that shall appear more [illegible] But, that any other is really more eligible, must be made appear by Reasoning, and not by Clamour; by offering to the Consideration of our Superiors some better-concerted Scheme, in a modest and serious Way, and not barely by attacking and demolishing this in such an hostile and outrageous Manner as we have seen. Would any one of those who have acted such a part, agree to have his present Dwelling pull'd down, because another Man thinks it not convenient enough; without any Security given, that he shall have a *better* built, or any regular *Plan* offer'd, on which to found a Comparison?

But this immoderate Zeal in some to misrepresent Facts, and this very great Willingness in many others to believe such Misrepresentations; shew plainly, that the preventing of the Plague, and preserving the Lives of their Fellow-Subjects, are not the Things which these Men aim at. And what it is, that is their real Aim, is shewn as plainly,

II. By their unjust and uncharitable Suggestions, concerning the DESIGNS of Persons, in relation to these Provisions against the Plague. This is a safe Retreat, when Lies and Misrepresentations are detected and can stand them in stead no longer. Facts, in their nature, are things open and before our Eyes, and false Accounts of *them* cannot be maintain'd long; but DESIGNS are things hidden, and oft-times disguis'd; and where there is a Willingness to believe, and a Proneness to suspect the worst, the Jealousies and Prejudices founded upon those, are not so easily reach'd and subdu'd. If, for instance, it be spread with the greatest Confidence, that by a late Act concerning the Plague, a Dragoon was to be posted at every Man's Door, that the Soldiers were to have the Plunder of all Houses which were infected, that they alone were to be employ'd in the Execution of the Powers given, and that the Powers themselves were such as *must* be put in Execution, and not such as *might* or *might not* be applied, according to the Exigencies of Things; all these immediately vanish, upon producing the plain Words of the Act. But if it be surmis'd, and propagated among the People, that the Act it self was calculated on purpose to Enslave them, and that the Legislature and the Persons in Power, meant only an Opportunity to insult and oppress such Persons and Places as they did not like; the Jealousies founded on such dangerous DESIGNS in the Superiors, are apt to take deeper Root in the Minds of the People, and, however unreasonable in themselves, can stand out much longer than Facts, against the plainest Conviction.

Such is the Nature of Mankind; and designing Heads are never wanting, to help Nature, and to foment and blow up Jealousies on such Occasions; especially, when they find the publick Administration engaged in any Work of great Difficulty, where the very best Remedies that can be thought of, are ungrateful and unpopular, and such as cannot possibly attain their End, without intrenching upon the ordinary Methods of Government, and the Ease and Liberty of Mankind. And therefore, in the present Case, what Scheme soever should have been thought of for preventing the Plague, I should not at all have wonder'd to hear the Legislature and those who are in Power, charg'd by the People with want of Regard to their *Liberties*, or with want of *Compassion*, or even with *Cruelty*; but it is amazing, to

hear Men charg'd with meditating *Tyranny*, and *Revenge* in the midst of a Plague.

If we had a Monarch upon the Throne, aspiring in his Nature, or cruel in his Government; if an Augmentation of the military Force had been insisted on or demanded, under Colour of executing the Act; if those who are employed in his Service, were known to be Lovers of tyrannical and arbitrary Measures; there might then be some Colour for such Suggestions; tho' even then, to suppose Men capable of forming such Thoughts *in the midst of a Plague*, is to suppose them Madmen, and Monsters. But when the reverse of all this is true; when we have a Prince upon the Throne, most indulgent to his People, and most tender of their Liberties; and not one Soldier has been desir'd of the Parliament, beyond the Number allow'd for the ordinary Security of the Kingdom; when we have a Ministry, who in the whole Course of their Lives, have been the known Patrons of Liberty; and (what ought not to be forgotten) when they, who have the chief hand in forming and spreading these vile Aspersions, are the very Men who a few Years since were upon the point of sacrificing their Country to an Arbitrary Power: In these Circumstances, nothing can be more astonishing, than the *Confidence* of advancing such Suggestions; except it be, the giving Credit to them. And I must intreat those, who are real Friends to the present Government, but yet have been so far misled as to swallow such Suggestions, and to join in the common Clamour; to consider whose Work they are doing, and whether the Confusion into which our Enemies are labouring to cast us by these Methods, can, if they succeed, end in any thing but an Arbitrary Government.

No less shocking is it, to suppose Men *capable* of forming Designs of Oppression, or Revenge, in the midst of such a terrible Scene, as the Plague is. And however any Methods propos'd for preventing it, may be represented to the People as *Cruel*; there is not a greater Cruelty upon earth, than to expose our Superiors to the People in such odious and inhuman Colours; it is in effect, to cloath them in the Habit of Bears and Tygers, that they may be run down and worried by the incens'd Multitude. If any thing could make me suspect human Nature capable of the Thoughts of Tyranny or Oppression, in the *midst* of a Plague; it is, that I see so many others who are capable of such unchristian Rancour and Revenge, under the *Approaches* of it.

I know but one thing that can be said, in any degree to mitigate the Guilt of such vile Reproaches (and it is, doubtless, one considerable Ingredi[illegible] I mean, an approaching Ele[illegible], a Freedom of Slander, and especially against our Superiors, is claim'd as a kind of *Privilege*, and a part of *English Liberty*. But whatever Countenance Custom may have given to such Practices, they are at all times *inhuman* and *unchristian*; and yet I fear we must now despair to see them ever cur'd, when a Plague hanging over our Heads, is so far from extinguishing, that it revives and invigorates them.

Thus far, I have been shewing, how greatly false Representations of *Facts*, and unjust and uncharitable Constructions of the *Designs* of our Superiors, have contributed to blow up the Minds of Men to such an uncommon degree of Uneasiness, or rather Fury. To these I will now add a third Cause of it, *viz.*

III. The false measures and ways of Reasoning, which Men have fallen into, in relation to the Plague, and the Provisions against it.

1. One is, That when they reason about these things, they will not *suppose* themselves, in their *Thoughts* and *Imaginations*, to be *now* under the Plague; but they consider it at a great Distance, and themselves and the Nation in a state of perfect Ease and Safety. This imaginary Security makes way for all those inflaming Suggestions, of Breaches upon Law, and Inroads upon Liberty; and puts Men out of

of all Patience, when you propose to them any Expedient that is accompanied with Terror, or even Inconvenience. But if they would first form within themselves an Idea and Imagination of our being actually *under* the Plague (as every one must do, who will reason wisely about Provisions to prevent it;) all those idle Speculations about Laws, and Liberties, and Conveniencies, would vanish: they would then see the absolute Necessity of discretionary Powers in the Prince, to be executed by wise Hands, and applied as Occasion shall require; and the Impossibility of keeping within the strict Bounds of Liberty, and the ordinary Methods of the Law. Upon the whole, they would see the Vanity of imagining, that any Methods can be taken in that dismal State, which shall not be attended with great Calamity and Terror. If those Men who indulge themselves in a different kind of Reasoning, would be at the trouble to read over the Account of the Plague at *Marseilles*, and observe from thence the dismal Condition of things in such a State; I may venture to say, it would be impossible after that, to reason so wildly about it, as they have hitherto done.

2. But there is another mischievous Notion, for which Men are naturally prepared by their not reasoning in this matter, under the *Imagination* and *Impression* of the Plague actually among us; and that is, An Indifference whether any Expedients at all be thought of, to prevent or check it; nay, an Opinion that the stirring in it, and the proposing Expedients, is very mischievous, as it terrifies the Minds of the People, and gives a great Interruption to Trade and Business; and that therefore nothing of this kind ought to be stirr'd at all, till the Plague comes nearer. Now this is as contrary as any thing can possibly be, to all the Rules which Reason teaches, and Mankind practise, in the whole Conduct of Life. In every other Case, the more terrible the Danger, the greater is the Need of timely Preparation; to be not only in a constant *Readiness* for its coming, but jealous of every Approach of it. As to the Interruption to Trade and Business; is it not evident, that our Neighbour-Nations (who have been so early and diligent in their Preparations against the Plague) would be afraid to have any Trade, or even Correspondence with us, did not we also appear to make all proper and reasonable Provisions against it? And as to terrifying the People; if the making such Provisions be a thing fit, and wise, and necessary; those Terrors are not to be regarded, but ought to be treated as the Fears of Children, when they refuse to take such Remedies, or to submit to such Operations, as are necessary to preserve Life. Give me leave to add, what I am morally certain is true, that the very Men who now clamour on these Pretences, against entring into any Expedients *as yet*; would have been lowder than any other, in their Invectives against the Legislature and the Ministry (as Men regardless of every thing but their own Ease, and taking no Care of the Safety of the People,) in case the Court and Parliament had sat still, and judg'd it too early as yet to enter into the Consideration of it.

3. Again, When the Plague has enter'd any Country, or is approaching to it, the Duty incumbent upon the Publick Administration, is to take Care of the *Whole*; nay, it is their Duty *not* to take farther Care of any one Part, than is consistent with the Care of the Whole; and (as a Consequence of this) not to lay aside any proper Provisions against its spreading thro' the Whole, because such Provisions may bring Inconveniencies upon any Part. This, most certainly, is the Duty of the *Publick Administration* in every Country; but when *particular Persons* come to reason upon the fitness or unfitness of such Provisions for the *Whole*, their single Rule of judging, is a Concern for *Themselves*. They think it grievous and unreasonable to be shut up within Lines or Houses, among Persons infected; but they consider not, how grievous and unreasonable they would think it (in case themselves were *without* the Lines, and among

the *uninfected)* if the Publick should take no Care to hinder the Part already infected, from mixing with them. And so, in Case of removing the Person infected from his House; Men consider how grievous it would be *to themselves*, if it were done; but they never consider how grievous it would be to a *whole Street*, if it were not done. On the same Foot, stands the Case of Persons infected in *Lone-houses:* How much soever has been heard, within doors or without, of the Unreasonableness of removing such; I dare say, there is not any one Inhabitant of such a House, who, if he dwelt in a great Town or City within five Miles of it, would not have been under the utmost Uneasiness, and have thought it the most unreasonable thing in the world, if Provision had been made in the Act, that no infected Person in any *Lone-house*, should be remov'd into a more solitary Place, or to a greater Distance from Towns or Cities. Nay, there is not a large Town or City in his Majesty's Dominions, however zealous at this time against all Breaches upon *English* Liberty, but would burn *Magna Charta* it self, should it pretend to tell them, that a great *Body of People* must be put in Danger, or even Terror, for the Ease and Convenience of one Family, or perhaps one Person.

4. Another false way of Reasoning about these Provisions for preventing the Plague, is, That Men view and consider some one Scheme, *singly* and *by it self*, and do not compare it with other Schemes, to see which is attended with the *least* Terror and the *fewest* Inconveniencies. If they will not be content, till a Scheme is offer'd that shall be strictly consistent with Law, and Liberty, and Ease; this is to resolve, in effect, that they will be content with none at all; because (as it has been often remembred in this Paper, and ought above all things to be inculcated, upon this subject,) all Expedients whatsoever (all that have been, and all that can be thought of) are very terrible. And as it follows not, that this or that particular Expedient is not good, or not the best, because it appears to be terrible; so the true way of Reasoning, is, to consider which Scheme appears *least* terrible, and *most* effectual, upon an impartial Comparison of them, in all the Steps to be taken in the Execution of each; and then to embrace that, which how terrible soever it may be in it self, appears upon such Comparison to be less terrible, and more effectual than any other. And it is unaccountable, how it should ever be wrought into the Heads of Men, that either a Legislature or a Ministry can have a *Partiality* for one Scheme above another, for any Reason, but because they judge it to conduce most effectually to the one single end of preventing the Plague; In other Words, that they should offer a terrible Expedient for any Reason, but because it appears to them upon the Comparison, to be *less* terrible than any other that will be effectual. And except the People in making a Judgment upon any Scheme that is proposed, will resolve to found such Judgment upon a fair Comparison of that with *other* Schemes, the Dissatisfactions must be endless; and it will require great Courage in those who are to act in pursuance of the General Powers vested in the Crown, to establish or propose any Expedient at all, and will lay them under a dangerous Temptation, to chuse, not what is really best in it self, but what is most suited to the Humours of the People.

5. There is another thing which greatly contributes to lead Men into very false and unjust Reasonings in this matter; and that is the suffering *other* Considerations to mix with it, which yet in their Nature are wholly foreign to it. Ought any Expedient that is offer'd, to be the worse thought of by this or that Person, because he happens to be a Sufferer by the *South-Sea*? Can a Scheme be either better or worse in it self, because it comes from Whig or Tory Hands? Does it follow, that any Scheme which is propos'd, ought not to be approv'd and receiv'd, because the *damning* it may help to render a Ministry unpopular, or be of Service in the approaching Elections? Multitudes of those who now join in the popular Clamour, have, I doubt not,

been *wholly* determin'd in this matter by such foreign Considerations (whether of domestick Losses, or political Views,) without entring in the least into the Reason of the thing it self, or troubling themselves at all to *survey* and *compare* the several Expedients. Whereas, it is most certain, that till such foreign Motives are banish'd out of the Case, and much more till they cease to be the *ruling* Motives; it is impossible for Men to form a Judgment about it, that shall be either wise, or honest.

6. Farther; In reasoning upon this Matter, Men do not seem to attend enough to the Consequence of the Nation's being found in an *unprepared* and *undetermin'd* State, in case we should be visited and attack'd by this terrible Enemy: Which, like all other Enemies, ravages whatever Country it can *surprise*, without Opposition or Controul, and by that single Advantage, is able to do great Execution, and to Destroy a long time, before any Head can be made against it. This was the melancholy Case of the People of *Marseilles*; they were surpris'd by it, and Multitudes were lost before the publick Administration could fall into proper and regular Methods of opposing it; who by a *previous* Consideration and Establishment of such Methods (if there had been time for it) might certainly have been sav'd. And tho' this *need* not be our Case, who have so fair warning of our Danger; yet by our Folly we may *make* it our Case, if we go on to indulge the Humour we are got into, of putting the Evil-day far from us, and discouraging the Thoughts of any Expedients at all, because no one can be found but what is exceeding terrible. It is certain, the very Thought of the Plague even at this distance, is dreadful; and not to think of it at all, would be the wisest Part we could chuse, if our not thinking of it would keep it at a Distance. But when it pleases God to give us so long a warning, and we have time (if we will but use it) to consider calmly of the best Expedients, and to digest them into proper Order and Method, while our Thoughts are yet free from that Terror and Confusion, which will necessarily attend a more immediate approach of the Plague; in these Circumstances, there cannot be a greater Folly in the World, nor a more shameful Instance of Supineness and Stupidity, than to neglect the happy Opportunity which God gives, and to delay the Preparations for our Defence till the Enemy is upon us. As if a time of such Terror and Confusion, were a Season for calm and regular thinking; or a Work of such a nice and difficult Nature, could be consider'd, digested, and executed in a Day. I speak this with the greater Concern; because however some Expedients which have been already under publick Consideration, have been forc'd to yield to publick Clamour and Discontent, and the Provisions are now reduc'd to the *General Powers* vested in the King; yet if this Humour continues among the People, of not bearing the thoughts of any Expedient that is attended with Terror, and no Expedient can possibly be found but what is very Terrible, I see not how any Fruit can be expected from these General Powers, nor who they are that will have the Heart to execute them, nor that any Scheme they can propose, is like to meet with better Treatment from the Populace, than what we have already seen. It is a grievous State we are in, if we have no way to avoid the *future* Confusions inseparable from an unpreparedness when the Plague comes, but the being run into *present* Confusion by attempting to prevent them.

7. I am aware, that there are some among us, who account all Endeavours to prevent or oppose the Plague, vain and ineffectual, if not impious; and this, upon two different Principles: One, that the Plague is the immediate Hand of God, and therefore not to be resisted; the other, that it is not propagated by Infection from Persons or Goods, as other Distempers are, and that therefore all Provisions against such Infection are lost Labour, But as it is certainly a wrong Notion in Divinity, that any Judgments whatsoever which are not *expresly* denounc'd by God, are his immediate Hand, in such sense as to forbid or supersede all human Means of preventing them;

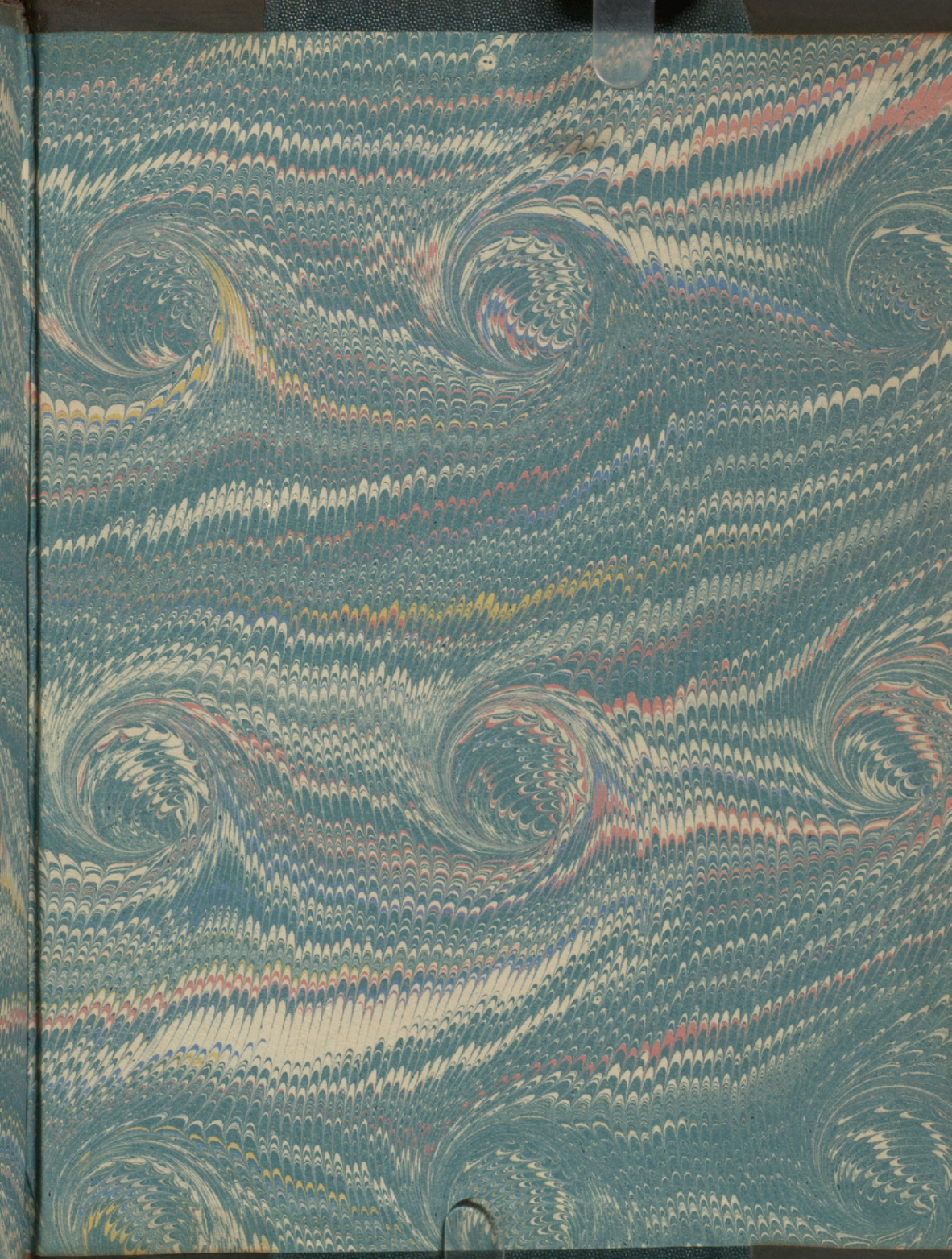
them; so is it at least a new Notion in Philosophy, and contrary to the general Observation and Practice of Mankind, that the Plague is not propagated by Infection, like other Distempers of the same Nature. And since the Persons who have entertained these Opinions, are generally such who have no ill Meaning, no premeditated Design to inflame the Nation; I am very sure, they will be so candid, as to consider how weak our Governors must appear both at Home and Abroad, should they sit still and sacrifice the Safety of the Nation to a pious Error in Divinity, or a new Speculation in Philosophy, when both are so contrary to the general Apprehension and Practice of Mankind.

However, thus far we readily agree with them, That the Plague is attended with such Degrees of Malignity, and diffuses the Contagion with such Force and Swiftness, as render the best Endeavours of Man *less effectual* in this, than in any other Distemper. And would to God we were all agreed in the plain and proper Inference from hence, That the less resistible it is by the Art of Man, the greater need we have to fly to God for Protection and Deliverance. As zealous as I am for a timely Deliberation, what are the best Expedients that *Reason* can suggest; I should think it by far the most comfortable Presage of Safety to the Nation, if I could see Men betake themselves in earnest to the *Religious* Means of averting divine Judgments; and affected with such Seriousness towards God, and Charity towards one another, as might well be expected from a People who have the Plague hanging over their Heads: If in particular, I could see among us a more peaceable and Christian Spirit, free from Hatred, Revenge, and Prejudice; and a Disposition in Men to judge in all Cases impartially and candidly: and finally (as one Instance of such Impartiality and Candor) if I could see, that one in a thousand of those who are provok'd by their late Losses, would seriously examin his own Heart as to the *Motives* which carried him into that unfortunate Adventure; and, to his just Censures of the Knavery of others, would add a due Humiliation of himself before God, for his own boundless Avarice and Ambition.

To conclude; It was not the Design of this Paper, to enter into particular Schemes, or to espouse or recommend one Scheme above another. My only Aim was, to lead honest and well meaning Men to reason more fairly and justly upon this Subject, than I think they have hitherto done; and for that end, to shew how shamefully they have been misled, by false *Facts*, by groundless *Suspicions*, and by unjust *Reasonings*.

As to those who are Enemies to the Government, I offer none of these Considerations to *them*; nor can I in reason expect that they should alter their present Methods, either of thinking or acting, in this matter, because on their part it would be most unpolitick, if they did not labour Night and Day to blow up our Discontents higher and higher, in hopes at last to cast us into a State of Confusion. But what I have said upon this Subject (with great Truth as I believe, and I am sure with great Sincerity) I offer to the Friends of the Government only; who, as wishing its Continuance, are also bound to wish its Peace and Welfare. And as I shall esteem it a great Happiness, if any thing that I have said, may conduce to bring such Persons to a Course of more just and sober Reasoning; so I must entreat, and even conjure them, to enter upon an impartial View of this whole Matter, and to consider how they can answer it to God, their King, and their Country, if for want of such Reasoning, or in spight of it, they still suffer themselves to be led on by mere *Passion* or *Prejudice*, to do the Work of the common Enemy.

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